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BY

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Dedicated, as a Token of the Author's Gratitude, to the Great Indian, the Late Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, who was a Scholar and a Friend of Scholars and, as Chairman of the Buddha Jayantī Celebrations Committee formed on the Occasion of the 2500th Anniversary of the Lord's Mahāparinirvāṇa, saved him from an Unwise Bureaucratic Interference in the Compilation and Publication of the Message of Aśoka as found in his Inscriptions.

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INTRODUCTION

I

The edicts of the Maurya emperor Aśoka form a unique branch of Indian epigraphical literature for a variety of reasons. They offer the earliest records in the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī alphabets in several forms of Prakrit speech and throw welcome light on the meagre and dubious information offered by tradition on the career, religious policy and administration of a mighty emperor who is one of the greatest sons of India and the world. They give us an idea about Aśoka's Dharma which appears to be the form of religious faith originally propagated by the Buddha and to be earlier than the Buddhism of the existing canonical literature of a somewhat later date. Above all, they embody the message of Aśoka whose life and activities are counted among the best contributions of India to the civilization of the world. The emperor introduced generosity and forbearance in politics and administration and was remarkable not only for his piety but also for his liberal and impartial dealings with the subjects irrespective of their caste and creed. He realised the futility of military conquests and the importance of peace after a great victory over a powerful enemy and thereafter became an *upāsaka* (lay follower) of the Buddha and followed the latter's path of peace. He says how, after a period of inactivity, he became zealously active in the cause of Dharma and how, within a short time, his religious practices, regulations and teachings led to the growth of Dharma everywhere. In this connection, Aśoka emphasises that the brilliant results of such religious activities can be achieved by both the rich and the poor. There was soon a change in his foreign policy, and he began to pursue a policy of toleration in respect of the neighbouring states in spite of the great strength and vast resources of the Maurya empire. Aśoka now preferred the conquest of the heart of the peoples of other kingdoms by love and toleration and dreamt of a peaceful world in which various peoples would live in harmony. Thus the Maurya emperor realised in the third century B.C. what has imperfectly dawned upon our politicians who thought of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisation after World Wars I and II respectively. Aśoka's administration is remarkable for his attempt at an experimentation because, at the same time, he tried to utilise the services of the officers for the propagation of Dharma as well as to maintain the high standard of their efficiency in administrative work.

The inscriptions of Aśoka belong to different classes and have been discovered in different parts of India as well as in Pakistan and Afghanistan. All his records published previously were very ably re-edited by the great German Indologist, E. Hultzsch, in his valuable work entitled *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, New Edition, 1925) which practically superseded earlier works on the subject. Out of the numerous Aśokan records discovered and published at later dates, the Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu versions of Minor Rock Edict I were edited by R. L. Turner in the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 10, 1931 and 1952, while the author of the present volume

published the remaining Brāhmī epigraphs discovered at Indian sites such as the Rock and Pillar Edicts found at Ahraurā, Amarāvatī, Bahāpur (Delhi), Erraguḍi, Gujarrā, Niṭṭūr, Pāngurāriā, Rājula-Maṇḍagiri Sopārā, and Uḍegolam. A few Aramaic edicts found at Taxila in Pakistan and in the eastern areas of Afghanistan have been published or noticed while some edicts in Greek and Aramaic found near Kandahār have been published by Italian and French scholars. The author of the volume had also occasion to write a few other articles on Aśokan epigraphs besides those referred to above.

Most of the author's studies of the edicts of Aśoka, which first appeared usually in periodicals—notably the *Epigraphia Indica,* are incorporated in the present volume with thanks to the authorities who published them in their original form. Some of the author's notes (e.g., those on Aśokan expressions like *samavāya, bhāge aṁne, pāriṁda, aṁbā-kapīlikā* and *vivutha* appearing in the *Indian Culture,* Vol. VII, 1941, pp. 487ff. ; Vol. VIII, 1942, pp. 388-400 ; *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXV, 1963-1964, pp. 99-100 ; and *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXXVIII, 1962, pp. 222ff., have, however, been left out from this collection mainly because they have been utilised in his works entitled *Select Insriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* Vol. I, Calcutta University, 1942 and 1965, and *Inscriptions of Aśoka,* Publications Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957, 1967 and 1975.

The references to the sources where the studies originally appeared are supplied below.

Chapter I —*Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXII, 1957-1958, pp. 1-28.

Chapter II —(1) *Ibid.,* pp. 29-30.
(2) *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature,* edited by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1970, pp. 25-34.

Chapter III —*Maski Inscription of Aśoka* (*Hyderabad Archaeological Series,* No. 1), revised edition by D. C. Sircar, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 1-30.

Chapter IV —(1) *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXXVI, 1965-1966, pp. 293-48.
(2) *Ibid.,* Vol. XXXVIII, 1969-1970, pp. 1-4.

Chapter V —*Ibid.,* Vol. XXXI, 1955-1956, pp. 205-10.

Chapter VI —*Ibid.,* Vol. XXXIX, 1971-1972 (in the press).

Chapter VII —*Ibid.,* Vol. XXX, 1955-1956, pp. 211-18.

Chapter VIII —(1) *Ibid.,* Vol. XXXIII, 1959-1960, pp. 333-37.
(2) *Ibid.,* Vol. XXXV, 1963-1964, pp. 40-43.

Appendix I —*Indian Museum Bulletin,* Vol. XII, Nos. 1 & 2, 1977.

Appendix II —*Ibid.*

Appendix III —*Journal of Ancient Indian History,* Vol. XII, 1978-79 (in the press).

A number of the studies relate to several more or less similar texts of Minor Rock Edict I discovered and published at different dates in separate articles so that an amount of repetition was inevitable in the original papers. While revising them for the present volume, an attempt has been made to eliminate this feature as far as possible, though its vestiges may still persist here and there. It is, however, well known to the students of Indian epigraphy that even Hultzsch could not avoid such repetitions while dealing with different versions of the same edicts in his celebrated work cited above.

The author will be happy if his Aśokan studies, now placed together in the hands of the students of history, are found to be of any use to those who are interested in the history of Aśoka with special reference to his message.

The author records his debt of gratitude to the authorities of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (particularly to Dr. Amal Sarkar, its Publication Officer) who have kindly arranged for the publication of the volume. He also expresses his gratefulness to Dr. J. R. Haldar of the Museum, who has been good enough to prepare the index.

The author is again thankful to the Indian Council of Historical Research which favoured him with a grant for helping him in the preparation and publication of his studies in epigraphy. Part of the amount was utilised in the compilation of the present volume including the insertion of Nāgarī transcripts of the epigraphical texts in it.

II

While dedicating this volume to the sacred memory of the late Professor S. Radhakrishnan, I remember the saddest experience of my official career in the Epigraphical Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India. In connection with the celebration of 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Mahā-parinirvāṇa I was requested by the Buddha Jayantī C. Committee, formed by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Professor Radhakrishnan, then the Vice-President of India, to prepare an English translation of the edicts of Aśoka in order to make the Maurya king's message intelligible to the general reader.

The first difficulty for me was that the Secretary of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting wanted me to follow E. Hultzsch's translation of the edicts as found in his well-known work appearing in 1925 and my own interpretation only in respect of Aśokan records discovered after that date. Professor Radhakrishnan, however, appreciated in a moment my view that conflicting opinions incorporated side by side in a work of this type were sure to confuse the readers.

The next difficulty was that the Hindi Division of the Ministry noticed some out of the many differences between my interpretation of the edicts and their Hindi translation prepared by another gentleman, and I was invited to a meeting at Professor Radhakrishnan's residence to meet the Hindi translator and a few officers. There, at the outset, I drew the Professor's attention to only one of the points raised, in which my translation of the word *mṛga* as 'an animal' was regarded as wrong and the meaning 'a deer'

adopted by the Hindi translator was stated to be correct. Professor Radhakrishnan at once observed that *mṛga* is generally 'an animal' and particularly 'a deer' whereupon the Secretary of the I. and B. Ministry pointed out that the context appears to support the second meaning. I politely replied that it was possible for me only to follow my own ideas and not the opinion of the officer. The Secretary then observed that Hultzsch's translation of the edicts could be published in preference to mine while the Secretary of the Ministry of Education, another officer present at the meeting, appeared to prefer the publication of an English version of their Hindi translation. I observed that there could not be any better advice than these because it was really impossible for me merely to copy others' views in respect of the edicts after having intensively studied them for two decades first as an M.A. student, then as a teacher of Post-Graduate classes and finally as an officer of the Epigraphical Branch. However, Professor Radhakrishnan was not inclined to accept the advice of either of the two Secretaries.

I faced the third difficulty when my book was going through the press. I had reason to suspect that the idea was not only to deprive me of any honorarium due to the author but even to publish my book without the author's name. I was then compelled to appeal to Professor Radhakrishnan to be so kind as to see that at least my authorship of the book was not suppressed and was very glad soon to be assured that it would not be.

It brings tears to my eyes today to think of the great man's kindness which saved a poor officer from trouble.

D. C. SIRCAR

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CHAPTER I

MINOR ROCK EDICTS I-II AND ROCK EDICTS I-XIV AT ERRAGUDI

1. Introduction

The village of Erragudi lies approximately in 77° 39′ E. and 15° 12′ N. in the Pattikonda Taluk of the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh, near the southern border of the District. It is about eight miles to the north-west of Gooty, headquarters of the Taluk of that name in the Anantapur District of the same State, on the Gooty-Pattikonda road. Gooty is a station on the Madras-Raichur line of the Southern Railway. The name of the village is often written in English as *Yerragudi* in accordance with a peculiarity of regional pronunciation. The inscriptions of Aśoka are incised on six large boulders in a range of low hills stretching towards the west from the neighbourhood of the village. The hill containing the boulders is locally known as Yenakoṇḍa (i.e. 'elephant hillock') or Nallayenakoṇḍa (i.e. 'black elephant hillock'). It is difficult to determine whether this name was due to the existence of the figure of an elephant in the vicinity of the inscriptions as in the case of the Rock Edicts of Aśoka on the hills at Dhauli, Girnār and Kālsī. No representation of an elephant could be traced on the hill near Erraguḍi.

About the end of the year 1928, A. Ghose of Calcutta, an officer of the Geological Survey of India, discovered the inscriptions on the rocks near Erraguḍi while prospecting for precious minerals in the Kurnool District. He recognised the letters *Devānaṁ . . . . Piyadasi* in one of the inscriptions and realised that they belong to the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (*c.* 272-232 B.C.), whose records of the same kind are known from various places. In January 1929, Ghose communicated full information regarding the whereabouts of the inscriptions to H. Hargreaves, then officiating Director General of Archaeology in India. A photograph of one of the inscribed rocks received from Ghose was supplied to D. R. Sahni, then Deputy Director-General of Archaeology for Explorations, who was deputed to examine and copy the inscriptions and submit a report on them to the Director-General. Sahni accompanied by H. Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, visited Erraguḍi in the second week of February and examined and copied all the inscriptions on the rocks excepting Rock Edicts VI and XII which were traced and copied in the following August by S. V. Viswanatha, then Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, attached to the Madras Circle. The discovery was announced by the Director-General of Archaeology in the newspapers in a communiqué dated the 11th February 1929.

Sahni and Sastri prepared transcripts of the edicts from the rocks and it was proposed that Sastri would edit them in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Sastri's article on the sub-

ject, however, was not complete before his retirement from the post of Government Epigraphist for India in December 1933. Sahni then wanted to edit the records ; but he passed away without finishing the work. N. P. Chakravarti, who succeeded Sastri as Government Epigraphist for India, then undertook the responsibiliy of editing the inscriptions. Chakravarti also visited Erragudi and prepared fresh transcripts of the edicts from the original rocks. But he was transferred from the Epigraphic Branch in May 1940 before the completion of his article on the records. About this time, B. M. Barua of the University of Calcutta appears to have received from Chakravarti a set of impressions of the Erragudi inscriptions and possibly also his tentative transcripts of the edicts. Barua's translation of the records appeared in his *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II, which was published by the University of Calcutta in 1943. But he could not publish Part I of the said work (pp. 1-178), in which he had incorporated the text of the Erragudi version of Aśoka's edicts, as Chakravarti himself was inclined to publish them. After his retirement from the Department of Archaelogy a few years later, Chakravarti found time to complete his article on the Hatun rock inscription of Paṭoladeva[1] and the Brāhmī inscriptions from Bandhogarh[2] and was going to take up the Erragudi inscriptions for study. In the meantime, in the first half of 1956, the author of these pages (who was then Government Epigraphist for India) was advised by the Director-General of Archaeology in India to arrange for the publication of all the unpublished inscriptions of Aśoka as early as possible. Consequently I began to write on the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Gujarrā inscriptions myself and was pressing Chakravarti for his article on the Erragudi inscriptions. I received from Chakravarti for scrutiny a copy of his transcripts of the records, which he had prepared long ago. Unfortunately, before the completion of the article, the cruel hand of death snatched him away from us in October 1956. I then tried to secure from Chakravarti's table whatever notes he might have left on the inscriptions, but received only 2½ pages of sparsely typed matter dealing with the story of the discovery of the records and the circumstances leading to the delay in their publication.

My association with the study of the Erragudi inscriptions of Aśoka dates back to my student days. About the end of 1929, shortly after I had been admitted to the post-graduate classes of the University of Calcutta in Ancient Indian History and Culture, my teacher, the late Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, showed me a copy of the Telugu periodical *Bhārati* for September 1929. That issue contained a rather unsatisfactory facsimile of an inscription on one of the Erragudi rocks, and I was advised to transcribe the epigraph. My tentative transcript of this inscription, containing a version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II, was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, 1931, pp. 737ff. B. M. Barua later published an improved transcript of the edicts in the same journal, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 113ff. About this time, D. R. Sahni's transcript of the same inscription appeared with a good facsimile in his paper on the discovery of the Erragudi version of the edicts of Aśoka in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1928-29*, 1933, pp. 161ff. Barua again dealt with the inscription in the *Indian Historical*

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 226ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 160ff.

Quarterly, Vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 132ff. It will thus be seen that the text of the Minor Rock Edicts I-II found at Erragudi had been published, but that the Erragudi version of the fourteen Rock Edicts remained as yet unpublished.

For the sake of convenience, the inscribed boulders have been designated A, B, C, D, E and F by Sahni who has provided us with a good account of the whereabouts of the inscriptions that are scattered on the hill. Boulder A is the largest in size and occupies the summit of the hill. The other boulders lie on its eastern slope. The inscribed surfaces of the boulders are very rough and there is no trace of any attempt to smooth them before the inscriptions were engraved. With the exception of the records engraved on Boulders A (northern face), B (right half), D and F, the others are very unsatisfactorily incised or preserved and parts of them can be deciphered with very great difficulty. Many letters of some of these records are unrecognisable on the impressions. Some letters may be somehow discerned on one impression but not on another.

Boulder A lies above a precipice about 20 feet high. Its lower portions are cut away at both the inscribed faces in the north and east. The eastern face is 17 feet 6 inches wide and contains Rock Edicts I-II at the left end, Rock Edicts III and VI in the middle and Rock Edict XIV in a depression at the upper right corner. Rock Edicts I-III and VI are not separated from one another and, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the writing, it is difficult to determine the end of one edict and the beginning of another. The northern face of this boulder (designated A-1) is 15 feet 6 inches wide and contains Rock Edicts XI, V and VII. Rock Edict XI is engraved at the left end. It comprises six lines of writing, of which lines 1-5 measure between 3 feet 3 inches and 4 feet in length while the last line is only 2 inches long. Rock Edict V, consisting of seven lines of writing, covers a rectangular space measuring 8 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, although the last line is only 3 feet long. A blank space, about 3 feet in width, separates this area from the space occupied by Rock Edict XI. Rock Edict VII is engraved on the upper right corner and is separated from Rock Edict V by a blank space only 6 inches wide. It consists of five lines of writing which cover an area measuring 3 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 2 inches. The preservation of the writing of these edicts is fairly satisfactory although a portion at the right end of Rock Edict V is defaced.

Boulder B lies a little to the east of the eastern face of Boulder A. The inscribed eastern face of this boulder is 13 feet in width from north to south. It is pointed towards the top and is divided by a roughly chiselled line, running from top to bottom, into two triangular sections. The portion at the right contains Rock Edicts IV, VIII and X. These edicts are well preserved although three letters at the beginning of line 2 of Rock Edict VIII are defaced. The three edicts contain respectively fourteen, four and five lines of writing and are separated one from another by short chiselled horizontal lines at the left end. The lines of writing are fairly straight in the upper part but irregular in the lower. There is a crack which runs from the left just above the last line of Rock Edict IV upwards to the right. This may have existed before the incision of the edicts as the letters appear to have been engraved outside it. The preservation of the writing on the triangular section in the left part of this boulder (designated B-1) is unsatisfactory. It

contains the first 29 lines of Rock Edict XIII, the writing being continued on Boulder C which is 5 feet 6 inches wide and lies a few feet to the south of Boulder B. The lines of Rock Edict XIII on Boulder B are very closely engraved and difficult to decipher. The decipherment is also rendered difficult by the existence of the crack referred to above. Boulder C contains the last seven lines (lines 30-36) of Rock Edict XIII.

Boulder D stands 27 feet to the south-east of the eastern face of Boulder A. It contains Rock Edict XII written in twelve lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory. Sahni speaks of faint traces of one line of writing below the last line of the edict at the right extremity.

Boulder E lies 27 feet to the east of Boulder B. It contains Rock Edict IX on its vertical face looking west. The lines of writing (lines 1-11) are not straight and parallel.

Boulder F is situated between Boulders C and E; but its position is lower (i.e. nearer the ground) than that of the latter. It is the most easily accessible among the inscribed rocks near Eṟṟaguḍi and the inscription on it, representing a version of Minor Rock Edicts I-II, seems to have been engraved earlier than the series of the fourteen Rock Edicts engraved on Boulders A-E. It is indeed worthy of note that the Minor Rock Edicts, which appear to have been issued earlier than any of the known edicts of Aśoka, are engraved here on a boulder at the bottom of the hill while Boulder A, bearing the first few edicts (Rock Edicts I-III) of the series of fourteen Rock Edicts, stands on its summit. The Minor Rock Edicts on Boulder F are the most satisfactorily preserved among the edicts of Aśoka at Eṟṟaguḍi.

The characters employed in the Eṟṟaguḍi edicts are Brāhmī and do not call for any special remark. But the writing of minor Rock Edicts I-II on Boulder F exhibits some unique characteristics not hitherto noticed in any inscription discovered in India. In the first place, while most of the lines have to be read from left to right as is usual in Brāhmī and its derivatives, some of them are to be read from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī. Secondly, there are some half lines to be read from left to right or from right to left. Thirdly, there are some lines, one part of which has to be read from the left but the other part from the right. Fourthly, there are several cases where a group of letters is engraved not in its proper place but elsewhere in a different line. Besides these peculiarities, the writing also exhibits several cases of the total omission of groups of letters. These irregularities show that the engraver of the inscription did not do his job carefully. The tendency to write passages to be read from right to left may have been due to the fact that the scribe or engraver was a person, who, like Capaḍa[3] of the Chitradurga versions of the Minor Rock Edicts, hailed from North-Western Bhāratavarṣa and was used to write in Kharoṣṭhī.

As regards the Prakrit language of the Eṟṟaguḍi edicts of Aśoka, a remarkable difference is noticed between the Minor Rock Edicts on the one hand and the Rock

[3] This may stand for Sanskrit *Capala* (cf. *mahiḍā* for Sanskrit *mahilā* in the Girnār version of Rock Edict IX, line 3).

Edicts on the other. This seems to be due to the fact that the two sets of edicts were received at the place separately on different occasions and dates.

In respect of language and orthography, the Erraguḍi text of the Minor Rock Edicts resembles that of some other South Indian versions of the same records, such as those in the Chitradurga District of Karnataka, while the text of the Rock Edicts at Erraguḍi resembles their Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions and also in many points the Kālsī version. There are some cases of inconsistency in the use of case-endings with reference to the number and gender of particular words in both the sets.[4] This feature is also noticed in other versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

The language of the Minor Rock Edicts is what is called the Magadha dialect. The Pillar Edicts and Pillar Inscriptions, the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa versions of the Rock Edicts and the Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions are couched in this dialect, although the Kālsī text of the Rock Edicts also exhibits some features of the same dialect. But, while the chief characteristic of the Magadha dialect is the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l*, the consonant *r* is retained in the text of the Minor Rock Edicts at Erraguḍi as also at other places in South India and also at some places in Central India. In this respect the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts resembles that of the Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra texts of the Rock Edicts.

In spite of the close resemblance of the language of the Erragudi version of the Minor Rock Edicts to that of their Chitradurga texts, referred to above, some differences are also noticed between the two. While the consonant *ṇ* is used in the Chitradurga versions in some places for Sanskrit *ṇ* and *n*, it is conspicuous by its absence in the Erraguḍi text of these edicts. In a few cases, the use of *ś* for Sanskrit *s* is noticed in the Chitradurga versions; but *s* is invariably used for the three sibilants in our text. In these respects, the language of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edicts is closer to the Magadha dialect, in which *ṇ* is replaced by *n*, and *ś* and *ṣ* by *s*. The interesting case of *sandhi* in the expression *hem=eva* (Sanskrit *evam=eva*), exhibiting the elision of *va*, is found in both the Erraguḍi and Chitradurga versions; but the Erraguḍi text offers another similar case in the expression *hev=āha* (Sanskrit *evam=āha*) not found elsewhere excepting the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy of the same records.[5] The Brahmagiri text of the Chitradurga version has *hevaṁ āha* in its place. In some cases we have *sandhi* with *eva* as follows: *tānaṁm=eva, palatikaṁm=eva,* etc. We have also the use of words like *ā* for *yā* and *yeva* for *eva.*

The Erraguḍi text of Monor Rock Edict I closely follows the text of the Chitradurga versions. But the passages *samānā, kāmaṁ tu kho, iyaṁ ca aṭhe* and *vaḍhisiti* are absent from our text (V, VIII and X), while we have *sakiye* (VIII) for *sakye* or *sake, etāya ca aṭhāya* (IX) for *etāy-aṭhāya,* and *khudaka-mahalakā* (X) for *khudakā ca mahātpā ca.* There

[4] Cf. *cira-ṭhitikā . . . . pakame* (Minor Rock Edict I, lines 9-10), *lipi likhita* (Rock I, line 5), *osadhāni ca munis-opaka* (Rock Edict II, line 3), etc.

[5] The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text of the Minor Rock Edicts closely resembles their Erraguḍi version. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 211ff., and below.

is considerable difference between the Erragudi text of Minor Rock Edict II and its Chitradurga versions, from which a number of sentences as found in the Erragudi copy (II-IV, X-XII, etc.) are omitted. For *rpā(prā)ṇesu drahyitavyaṁ* of the Chitradurga texts, we have *rpā(prā)nesu dayitaviye* (VII). The sentence mentioning the scribe is wanting in the Erragudi version.

A marked difference between the language of the Minor Rock Edicts and that of the Rock Edicts at Erragudi is that the latter exhibits the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l* in all the cases. The Erragudi version of the Rock Edicts also exhibits other characteristics of the Magadha dialect.[6] It uses *n* for both *ñ* and *ṇ*, and *s* for *ś* and *ṣ*. The nominative singular case-ending for both masculine and neuter words ending in *a* is generally *e* and the locative singular case-ending for the same is *si*. In point of language, the Erragudi copy of the Rock Edicts closely resembles that of the Dhauli and Jaugada versions; but its draft is in some places closer to the Kālsī text, although it does not exhibit the use of *ś* and *ṣ* and of the redundant subscript *y* noticed so often at Kālsī. An interesting fact about the vocabulary of the Erragudi text of the Rock Edicts is that the word *mana*, *mina* or *minā* standing for Sanskrit *punaḥ* occurs in it for no less than seven times.[7] In many of these cases, the corresponding passages in the other versions of the edicts have *pana* or *puna* for Sanskrit *punaḥ*.[8] But *pana* or *puna* (Sanskrit *punaḥ*) itself occurs several times in the Erragudi text of the edicts; cf. Rock Edict XIII, line 30 (XX); Rock Edict XIV, line 4 (V); and Minor Rock Edict II, line 21 (XV). The word *mina* or *minā*, however, occurs in the third sentence of Pillar Edict III of Aśoka and it is generally taken to stand for Sanskrit *manāk*.[9] But the sense of Sanskrit *punaḥ* in these cases would suit the context equally well.

The relation of the Erragudi text of the Rock Edicts with other versions of the records, especially the Dhauli, Jaugada and Kālsī texts, and some of its linguistic features may be illustrated by an analysis of a few of the edicts. Rock Edict I at Erragudi generally agrees with the Dhauli, Jaugada and Kālsī texts. But we have *ālabhisu* (lines 4-5, VI) and *ālabhisaṁti* (lines 6, IX) instead of *ālabhiyisu* and *ālabhiyisaṁti* respectively. The forms of the verb in our text may be compared with those found in the other versions, such as *ārabhisu* (Girnar), *arabhisu* (Mānsehra) and *arabhiśaṁti* (*Shāhbāzgarhī*). Similar is the case with Rock Edict II. But we have *Satīka-pute* and *tasa sāmaṁtā*

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[6] In a few cases, our version exhibits the influence of the language of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra texts; cf. the use of the word *upaka* noticed below.

[7] Cf. *mana* in Rock Edict XII, line 8 (VIII), Rock Edict XIII, line 22 (XVII); *mina* in Rock Edict VI, line 5 (X), Rock Edict IX, lines 8 (XII) and 9 (XVI); *minā* in Rock Edict VI, line 3 (VI), Rock Edict IX, line 10 (XVIII).

[8] Cf. *pana* in the Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict VI, lines 14 and 15; Mānsehra Rock Edict IX, line 7; Dhauli Rock Edict VI, line 5; Jaugaḍa Rock Edict VI, line 5; *puna* in the Girnār Rock Edict VI, lines 6 and 10, Rock Edict XII, line 6, Rock Edict XIII, line 10, Rock Edict XIV, line 5; *puna* in the Girnār Rock Edict VI, lines 6 and 10, Rock Edict XII, line 6, Rock Edict XIII, line 10, Rock Edict XIV, line 4; Kālsī Rock Edict IX, line 26, Rock Edict XIV, line 21; Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict IX, lines 19 and 20, Rock Edict XII, line 6, Rock Edict XIII, lines 8 and 10, Rock Edict XIV, line 13; Mānsehra Rock VI, lines 28 and 30, Rock Edict IX, lines 6, 7 and 8, Rock Edict XII, line 15, Rock Edict XII, line 15, Rock Edict XIII, line 9, Rock Edict XIV, line 4.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 251, note 21; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 122, note 1.

Aṁtiyogasa (lines 1-2, I) and not *Satiya-pute* (or *Sātiya-pute*) *Ketala-pute* and *tasa Aṁtiyogasa sāmaṁtā*, as also *munis-opakā ca pasu-opakā ca* (line 3, II) instead of *manus-opagāni pasu-opagāni ca*. The change of *g* to *k* in *upaka* (Sanskrit *upaga*), found also at Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra, is not a characteristic of the Magadha dialect. Our text (lines 4-5, IV) has *lukhāni lopāpitāni udupānāni ca khānāpitāni* after Kālsī and not *udupānāni khānāpitāni lukhāni ca lopāpitāni* as in Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. In line 4 (III), we have *savata ata ata nathi* instead of the expected *ata ata nathi savata*. Rock Edict III of our version has *vijite* (line 2, III) instead of *vijitasi* after Girnār and Shāhbāzgarhī and *nikhamaṁtu* (line 2, III) after Kālsī in the place of *nikhamāvū* at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. The passage *imāye dhaṁm-ānusathiye athā aṁnāye pi kaṁmane* in the Eṟṟaguḍi text (line 3, III) follows the order of the expressions as at Kālsī, while Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *athā aṁnāye pi kaṁmane imāye dhaṁm-ānusathiye*. But Kālsī has *kaṁmāye* for *kaṁmane*. Instead of the compound *mātā-pitu-sususā* (line 3, IV), the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Kālsī texts have °*pitisu* separately. For *mita-saṁthuta-nātikānaṁ* (line 4, V), Kālsī has °*nātikyānaṁ* and Dhauli and Jaugaḍa °*nātisu*. Similarly, our text has *samana-baṁbhanānaṁ* (line 4, V), while the order of the two words in the compound is the reverse in all the other texts, and Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *baṁbhana-samanehi* (Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa-śramaṇebhyaḥ*). The word *pānānaṁ* (line 4, VI) follows Kālsī, while Dhauli and Jaugaḍa have *jīvesu*. The order of the words in the expression *gananasi yutāni* (line 5, VIII) is the reverse at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa.

II. Text and Translation of MRE I-II

(BOULDER F)

Minor Rock Edict I

TEXT[1]

1. (I)[2] Devānaṁpiye hev=āha[3] (/°) (II) adh[i]kāni[4]

2.[5] ya hakaṁ upāsak[e] (/°) (III) no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvacharaṁ pakā[ṁ]te[6]

3. husaṁ (/°) (IV) s-ātirek[e] c[u][7] kho savachare yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayī-

[1] From impressions. Chakravarti's readings have been quoted from his unpublished transcript of the edicts. But in some cases his readings, originally preferred by us but discarded at a later stage on re-examination of the impressions, could not be indicated. While quoting variant readings, we have referred to Sahni's and Barua's transcripts of these two edicts published respectively in *ARASI*, 1928-29, pp. 166-67, and in *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 132-34.

[2] Before *de* there is a trisceles symbol as in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of these edicts. Sahni and Chakravarti take it to be the *akṣara se* standing for Sanskrit *tat* or *saḥ*.

[3] Sahni: *hevaṁ ha*; Barua: *hevaṁ ha ā* (=*hevaṁ āha*).

[4] The words *aḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni* appear to have been inadvertently omitted after this by the scribe or engraver.

[5] This entire line has to be read from right to left.

[6] Barua: *pakate*.

[7] Sahni and Barua: *ca*.

4. (a)[8] te bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/°) (V) iminā chu kālena a-
(b)[9] misā [ye] munisā

5.[10] devehi te dāni misibhūtā (/°) pakamasa hi

6. (a)[11] [i]ya[ṁ][12] (/°) (VII)[13] mahapten=eva sakiye (/°) (VIII) khu-
(b)[14] dakena pi paka-

7. (a) mamīnena sakiye vipule svage ārā-
(b)[15] dhetave (/°) (IX) e-
(b)[16] tāya ca[17] aṭhāya iyaṁ

8. [sā]vane sāvite (/°) (X) athā khudaka-mahalakā[18] imaṁ p[i] [pa]kamevū aṁ-

9.[19] tā ca me jānevu cira-ṭhitikā ca

10. iyaṁ pakame hota[20] vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhasitā[21] aparadhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ[22] (/°)

11. (XI)[23] [i]yaṁ ca sāvane sā-

12. v[ā]pite vyūthena[24] 200 50 6 (/°)[25]

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[8] The following sixteen *akṣaras* have to be read from right to left.

[9] The following six *akṣaras* are engraved slightly above at the left end of line 4(a) and have to be read from left to right. The *akṣara ye* is not visible on the impressions. The last *akṣara* of line 4(a) is contiguous to the last *akṣara* of line 4(b).

[10] This line actually commences from below the last *akṣara* (i.e. *sā*) of line 4. The six *akṣaras*, viz. *dakena pi paka*, meant for the beginning of line 7 (actually the line immediately following the present line, if the beginning of the lines is considered), occupy the space before this *akṣara* at the beginning of line 5.

[11] This is a half line to be read from right to left.

[12] Barua: *na*. The word *phale* has been omitted after this by the scribe or engraver through oversight.

[13] The words *no h=iyaṁ* have similarly been omitted before this.

[14] The following six *akṣaras* are engraved at the beginning of line 5 before *devehi* and below *misā* in line 4(b).

[15] The following four *akṣaras* are engraved above this line in line 6(a) after (i.e. to the left of) *khu*.

[16] The following *akṣaras* are in continuation of line 7(a).

[17] Barua: *va*.

[18] Barua: *mahadhanā*.

[19] This is a half line to be read from right to left.

[20] The Chitradurga versions add here *iyaṁ ca aṭhe* with which a new sentence begins.

[21] Sahni: *hotaviyu ca ipi va[dhi]si vi*; Chakravarti: *hotavi (/°) pu[na]ṁ pi ca vaḍhasitā*; Barua: *hotu (/°) vipule pi ca vaḍhasitā*. The rest of this line is incised below the previous line (line 9).

[22] The Chitradurga versions add the word *vaḍhisiti* here. Some letters in this line and in lines 11, 12 and 14 are not clear on the Plate in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, due to defective pasting of two pieces of the impression.

[23] This half line has to be read from right to left.

[24] Barua: *vyūṭhena*.

[25] The rest of line 12 from here is incised below line 10.

TEXT IN NĀGARI SCRIPT

(1) I. देवानंपिये हेवाह (/*) II. अधिकानि (अढतियानि संवछरानि *) (2) य हकं उपास[के] (/*) III. नो तु खो एकं संवछरं पकांते (3) हुसं (/*) IV. सातिरे[के तु] खो सवछरे यं मया संघे उपयी(4a)ते बाढं च मे पकंते (/*) V. इमिना चु कालेन अ(4b)मिसा [ये] मुनिसा (5) देवेहि ते दानि मिसिभूता (/*) VI. पकमस हि (6a) [इयं] (फले *) (/*) VII. (नो हीयं *) महपतेनेव सकिये (/*) VIII. खु(6b)दकेन पि पक(7a)ममीनेन सकिये विपुले स्वगे आरा(7b)धेतवे (/*) IX. ए(7c)ताय च अठाय इयं (8) [सा]-वने साविते (/*) X. अथा खुदक-महलका इमं [पि] [प]कमेवू अं(9)ता च मे जानेवु चिरठितिका च (10) इयं पकमे होत विपुलं पि च वढसिता अपरधिया दियढियं (/*) (11) XI. [इ]यं च सावने सा(12)[वा]पिते व्यूथेन २०० ५० ६ (/*)

Minor Rock Edict II

TEXT

(I)[1] he[vaṁ] Devānaṁ[2] Devānaṁpiye āha (/*) (II) yathā De-

13.[3] vā[naṁ]piye āhā[4] tathā kaṭaviye (/*)

14. (III)[5] rajūke[6] ānapetaviye (/*)

15. (IV)[7] se dāni jānapada[ṁ][8] āna-

16. (a) payisati raṭhikāni cā (/*) (V) mātā-pitūsu[9] (b)[10] susu-

17. sitaviye (/*) (VI) hem=eva garūsu[11] sususitaviye (/*) (VII) rpā(prā)nesu[12] ḍayitaviye (/*) (VIII) sace vataviye (/*) (IX) [i]-

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[1] The rest of line 12 from here is incised below line 10.

[2] This word is redundant.

[3] The half line consisting of the following twelve *akṣaras* has to be read from right to left. Chakravarti: "The line is very uneven due to a few *akṣaras* being engraved on the chipped portion of the rock."

[4] In Chakravarti's opinion, what looks like medial *ā* in *hā* is a crack in the stone.

[5] This is a half line consisting of nine *akṣaras* to be read from left to right.

[6] Barua: *rājūke*.

[7] The following nine *akṣaras*, incised below line 14, have to be read from right to left.

[8] Sahni: *jānapada*; Barua: *bherinā jānapada*.

[9] Sahni: *pitusu*; Chakravarti: *pitūṁsu*.

[10] The following two *akṣaras* are engraved at the beginning of line 18. Barua ignores this fact and reads the word *susuma* at the beginning of that line.

[11] Sahni and Chakravarti: *garusu*.

[12] Sahni and Chakravarti: *janesu*.

18. (a)[13] ma dhamma-gunā pavatitaviyā (/°) (X) hevaṁ tumphe ānapayātha Devānaṁpiya-[14] vacanena (/°) (XI) he-

(b)[15] vaṁ ānapa-

19. yātha[16] hathiy-ārohāni kā[ra]nakāni[17] yūgy-ācariyāni baṁbhanāni ca tu[ṁ]phe[18] (/°) (XII) hevaṁ nivesayā-

20. (a) tha aṁtevāsīni yārisā porānā pakiti (/°) (XIII) iyaṁ sususitavīye (/°) (XIV) apacāyanā ya vā ācari-

(b)[19] ya[sa]

(c)[20] sa

(d)[21] [he]m=eva (/°)

21. (XV)[22] yathā vā puna ācariyasa[23] nātikāni yathārahaṁ natikāsu[24] rpa(pra)vatitaviye (/°) (XVI) hesā pi

22.[25] [aṁ]tevāsīsu yathārahaṁ pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti (/°) (XVII) yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ

23. sa[26]tiro(re)ke siyā hevaṁ tu[ṁ]phe ānapayātha nivesa[yā]tha ca aṁtevāsīni (/°) (XVIII) hevaṁ De-

24.[27] vānaṁpiy[e] ānapayati (/°)

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[13] The *akṣaras susu* are engraved here before *ma* (which Chakravarti reads as *me*), although their proper place is at the beginning of the previous line.

[14] Barua: *Devānaṁpirasa.*

[15] The following four *akṣaras*, which are incised below the concluding part of the line, have to be read from right to left. What has been read as *hevaṁ* may be *hem=eva* also.

[16] Chakravarti: *˚yātha.*

[17] Sahni and Chakravarti: *kārunakāni.*

[18] Chakravarti ends the sentence after *ca.* He and others read *tuphe* here as well as in X above.

[19] The following two *akṣaras* are engraved at the beginning of the next line (line 21), *ya* being at a higher level than *sa.*

[20] This letter stands at the end of line 20(a).

[21] The following three *akṣaras*, at the end of line 20(a)-(c), have to be read from right to left.

[22] The *akṣaras yasa* engraved here before *yathā* should have to be read at the beginning of the previous line.

[23] Sahni: *apacāyanāya vā ācariyasa [he]meva se yathā vā puna ācariyasa*, etc. Barua: *apacāyanā ya sava me ācariyasa yathācārina ācariyasa (/°).*

[24] Barua: *nātikesu* which is the word found in the Chitradurga versions of the edict.

[25] The damaged *akṣara sa*, incised before *aṁ*, should have to be read at the beginning of the next line. This escaped the notice of Sahni, Barua and Chakravarti.

[26] This *akṣara* is engraved at the beginning of the previous line. Sahni and Chakravarti: *tiroke*; Barua: *aroke.*

[27] This line has to be read from right to left.

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(12) [Continued from the end of MRE I.] I. हेवं देवानं देवानंपिये आह (/•) II. यथा दे(13)-वानंपिये आहा तथा कटविये (/•) (14) III. रजुके आनपेतविये (/•) (15) IV. से दानि जानप[दं] आन-(16a) पयिसति रठिकानि चा (/•) V. माता-पितूसु (16b) सुसु(17)सितविये (/•) (VI) हेमेव गरूसु सुसुसितविये (/•) VII. पा(प्रा)नेसु दयितविये (/•)

VIII. सचे वतविये (/•) IX. [इ](18a)म धंम-गुना पवतितविया (/•) X. हेवं तुंफे आनपयाथ देवानंपिय-वचनेन (/•) XI. हे(18b)वं आनप(19)याथ हथियारोहानि का[र]नकानि यूग्याचरियानि बंभनानि च [तुं]फे (/•) XII. हेवं निवेसया(20a)थ अंतेवासीनि यारिसा पोराना पकिति (/•) XIII. इयं सुसुसितवीये (/•) XIV. अपचायना य वा आचरि(20b)यस (20c) स (20d) हेमेव (/•) (21) XV. यथा वा पुन आचरियस नातिकानि यथारहं नातिकासु पं(प्र)वतितविये (/•) XVI. हेसा पि (22) [अं]-तेवासीसु यथारहं पवतितविये यारिसा पोराना पकिति (/•) XVII. यथारहं यथा इयं (23) सतिरो(रे)के सिया हेवं [तुं]फे आनपयाथ निवेस[या]थ च अंतेवासीनि (/•) XVIII. हेवं दे(24)वानंपि[ये] आनपयति (/•)

TRANSLATION

Minor Rock Edict I

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) It is [now] more than [two years and a half] that I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha).

(III) I was, however, not energetic [in the practice and propagation of Dharma] for one year [at the beginning of the above period].

(IV) It is [now] more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated[28] with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic [in the cause of Dharma].

(V) Those men, who were unmingled [with gods] during this period, have now been mingled with gods.[29]

(VI) This is [the result] of [my] exertion [in the cause of Dharma].

(VII) [Indeed, it is not] attainable only by the rich man.

(VIII) Even the poor man, if he is energetic [in the cause of Dharma], can attain even the great heaven.[30]

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[28] The word *upayita* (Sanskrit *upeta*) seems to have been used in the sense of *saṅgata*, although it has been variously interpreted by scholars. See Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad, p. 24; also below.

[29] Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

[30] The great heaven was possibly regarded as higher than the world of the gods.

(IX) It is for this purpose that the proclamation has been made [by me].

(X) It is that the poor and the rich[31] should also be energetic in this exertion [in regard to the practice and propagation of Dharma], that the peoples living beyond the borders [of my empire][32] should know [this matter] and this exertion should be everlasting and will increase to a great extent [at least] roughly to one and a half times.

(XI) This proclamation is being issued by me [when I have been] on tour [for] 256 [nights, i.e. days].[33]

Minor Rock Edict II

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) You should do as [you have been] told [to do] by the Beloved of the Gods.

(III) The [officers entitled] Rajjuka[34] should be ordered [by you in respect of this matter].

(IV) He [in his turn] will then order the people of the countryside as well as the [officers entitled] Rāṣṭrika[35] [in the following words]:

(V) "One should be obedient to one's parents.

(VI) "One should likewise be obedient to one's elders.

(VII) "One should be kind to the living beings.

(VIII) "One should speak the truth.

(IX) "One should propagate these attributes of Dharma."

(X) Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods.

(XI) In this way you should pass orders on the elephant-riders, the scribes and charioteers and [the teachers of] the Brāhmaṇa [community].[36]

(XII) Thus you should instruct your pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

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[31] The word *mahalaka* means 'big', i.e. 'rich', in the present context. Cf. Rock Edict XIV, line 3(IV). We are inclined to take the word *khudaka*, i.e. *kṣudra*, in the sense of 'poor'.

[32] For the meanings of *anta*, see below.

[33] See Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 29-30; also below.

[34] The Rajjukas were probably governors of districts. The present order was apparently addressed by the king to the Mahāmātras stationed at Suvarṇagiri near Erraguḍi.

[35] The *Rāṣṭrikas* appear to have been governors of parts of a district.

[36] Sahni: "Thus should you command the Kāruṇakas riding on elephants and the Brāhmaṇas driving in vehicles." Barua: "Thus instruct the elephant-riders, the Kāruṇakas, the chariot-trainers, and the Brahmins" (*Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Part II, p. 200). At p. 345 of this work, Barua prefers to read *kāranakāni* and equates *kāranaka* with *kāraṇika* used in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 5. 34) in the sense of 'a teacher of the princes'. This meaning also suits the context. The sentence refers to several classes of people who used to initiate pupils in particular professions.

(XIII) This [order] should be obeyed.

(XIV) Whatever honour is [enjoyed] by the teacher [lies] really in this.

(XV) Then again, this [principle underlying the order] should be propagated in the proper manner by the teacher's male relations among the female[37] relations [he may have].[38]

(XVI) This should also be propagated [by the teacher's relatives] in the proper manner among [his] pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

(XVII) You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this [principle underlying the order] grows [among them] abundantly.[39]

(XVIII) Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods.

III. Text and Translation of RE I-XIV

A. ROCK EDICTS I AND II[1]

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—LEFT HALF)]

Rock Edict I

TEXT

1. (I) iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi Devānaṁpiyena Piyadasina la[ji]na [likhā]pi[tā] (/*) (II) [hida no] kiṁci [jīve]
2. ālabhitu pajohitaviy[e] (/*) (III) n[o] pi ca samāje[2] kaṭaviy[e] (/*) (IV) bahukaṁ [hi] Devā[naṁ]piye samāja[si]
3. do[sa]ṁ dakhati (/*) (V) athi eka[t]iy[ā] samājā sādhu-matā Devānaṁ[piyasā] Piya[da]sine lājine (/*)

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[37] The Chitradurga versions have 'relations' instead of 'female relations'.

[38] Sahni: "Thus should you admonish the pupils: he (i.e. the teacher) should be obeyed according to the ancient rule and so also the relatives of the teacher by way of showing veneration to the teacher; they should also behave in a suitable manner towards [their own] relatives." Barua: "You should thus establish your pupils according to the good old rule: This is to be hearkened to: whatever is estimable [in me], all that is due to my teacher, the teacher acting properly as teacher. The neighbours are to propound it to the neighbours as far as practicable."

[39] Sahni: "Thus should you direct and admonish the pupils that he (i.e. the teacher) may enjoy three-fold comfort (*ti-r-oka* ?)." Burua: "As it may remain unimpaired as far as practicable, so should you instruct and establish the pupils." "This is to be respectfully attended to indeed for the sake of the honour of the teacher. Or again, if [there be] relatives of the teacher, this should likewise be fittingly propounded to [his] relations, so also among the citizens should [it] be fittingly propounded, so that it may be excessively bright" (*Inscriptions of Aśoka, op. cit.*, p. 200).

[1] Many of the letters of these and the other edicts transcribed below are indistinct on the impressions.

[2] At first *ke* had been written, and it was then changed into *je*.

4. (VI) pule mahānasasi Devānaṁpi[ya]sa Piyadasine lājine anu-divasaṁ bahuni pāna-sata-sahasāni [āla]-

5. [bhi]su sūpāthāy[e] (/°) (VII) [se] idāni ad[ā iyaṁ] dhaṁma-lipī likhita tada ti[ṁ]ni [yeva pā]nāni ālabhiyaṁti [duve majūlā]

6. eke [ma°]g[e] (/°) (VIII) se pi [ma°]ge no dhuvaṁ (/°) (IX) [e]tāni pi cu ti[ṁ]-ni pānāni pacha n[o] ālabhisaṁti (/°)[3]

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. इयं धंम-लिपि देवानंपियेन पियदशिन ल[जि]न [लिखा]पि[ता] (/*) II. [हिद नो] किचि [जीवे] (2) आलभितु पजोहितवि[ये] (/*) III. [नो] पि च समाजे कटवि[ये] (/*) IV. बहुकं [हि] देवा[नं]पिये समाज[सि] (3) दो[सं] दखति (/*) V. अथि एक[तिया] समाजा साधुमता देवानं[पियसा] पिय[द]शिने लाजिने (/*) (4) VI. पुले महानसषि देवानंपि[य]स पियदसिने लाजिने अनुदिवसं बहुनि पान-सत-सहसानि [आल](5)[भि]सु सूपाथा[ये] (/*) VII. [से] इदानि अ[दा इयं] धंम-लिपी लिखित तद [तिं]नि [येव पा]-नानि आलभियंति [दुवे] [मजूला] (6) एके [म*][गे] (/*) VIII. से पि [म*]गे नो धुवं (/*) IX. [ए]तानि पि चु [तिं]नि पानानि पछ [नो] आलभिसंति (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) Here no living being should be slaughtered for sacrifice.

(III) And also no festive gathering should be held.

(IV) For the Beloved of the Gods sees manifold evil in festive gatherings.

(V) There is, [however], one kind of festive gatherings, which is considered good by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(VI) Many hundred thousands of living beings were formerly slaughtered every day in the kitchen of king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, for the sake of curry.

(VII) But now, when this record relating to Dharma is written, only three living creatures are killed [daily] for the sake of curry, [viz.], two birds and one animal.[4]

(VIII) Even this animal is not [slaughtered] regularly.

(IX) These three living beings too shall not be killed in future.

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[3] This edict is separated from Rock Edict II by a short line at the left end.

[4] This is generally taken in the sense of 'two peacocks and one deer'. But see *Select Inscriptions*, 1942, p. 17, note 4.

Rock Edict II

TEXT

(below Rock Edict I)

1. (I) savatā[1] vijitasi Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasin[e] lājine e ca aṁtā athā [C]oḍā Paṁḍiyā Satīka-[pute[2] Taṁbapaṁni Aṁtiyo]-
2. ge [nāma Yona-lājā] e ca aṁne tasa [sāmaṁta] Aṁtiyogasa lājāno savatā Devānaṁpiya[sā] Piyadasine [lājine du][ve°] [cikisā]
3. kaṭā munisa-cikis[ā] ca pasu-cikis[ā] ca (/°) (II) o[sa]dhāni [ca munis-o]pakā [ca] pasu-opakā ca ata atā nathi savata [hālāpitā ca lopāpi]-[3]
4. tā ca (/°) (III) [hem=e]va [mūlāni ca] phalāni [ca savata] ata ata nathi [hā]-lāpit[ā] ca lopāpitā ca (/°) (IV) ma[ge]su lukhāni lopāpitāni udupānān[i] ca
5. khā[nā]pitāni paṭibhogāye pasu-munisānaṁ (/°)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. सवता विजितसि देवानंपियस पियदसि[ने] लाजिने ए च अंता अथा [चो]डा पंडिया सतीक-[पुते] [तंबपंनि] [अंतियो](2)गे [नाम] [योन-लाजा] ए च अंने तस [सामंत] अंतियोगस लाजानो सवता देवानंपिय[सा] पियदसिने [लाजिने] [दु][वे॰] [चिकिसा] (3) कटा मुनिस-चिकि[सा] च पसु-चिकि[सा] च (/॰) II. ओ[स]धानि [च] [मुनिसो]पका [च] पसु-ओपका च अत अता नथि सवत [हालापिता] [च] [लोपापि](4)ता च (/॰) III. [हेमे]व [मूलानि] [च] फलानि [च] [सवत] अत अत नथि [हा]लापि[ता] च लोपापिता च (/॰) IV. म[गे]सु लुखानि लोपापितानि उदुपाना[नि] च (5) खा[ना]पितानि पटिभोगाये पसु-मुनिसानं (/॰)

TRANSLATION

(I) Everywhere in the dominions of king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, and likewise [in] the bordering territories such as [those of] the Coḍas [and] Pāṇḍyas [as well as of] the Satīka-putra [and in] Tāmraparṇī [and in the territories of] the Yavana king named Antiyoka and also [of] the kings who are the neighbours of the said Antiyoka—everywhere king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, has arranged for two kinds of medical treatment, [viz.], medical treatment for men and medical treatment for animals.

(II) And, wherever there were no medicinal herbs beneficial to men and beneficial to animals, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

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[1] Chakravarti: "The letter looks like *ta* on the rock."

[2] Other versions have *Satiya*° or *Sātiya*°. The original form of the name may have been *Sātika* or *Śāntika*. The reference to Keralaputra has been omitted in this text.

[3] The letters are not clear on the impressions. Chakravarti: "The letters *calopāpi* are traceable on the stone."

(III) In the same way, wherever there were no roots and fruits, everywhere they have been caused to be imported and planted.

(IV) On the roads, trees have been caused to be planted and wells have been caused to be dug for the enjoyment of animals and men.

B. ROCK EDICTS III, VI AND XIV

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—RIGHT HALF)]

Rock Edict III

TEXT

(to the right of Rock Edict I)

1. (I) [Devānaṁpiye] Piya[dasi lāja hevaṁ] ā[h]ā (/*) (II) duvāḍasa-vas-ābhisitena [me] iyaṁ ānapayite (/*)
2. [1] (III) [savata] vij[i]t[e][2] mama yutā lājūke pādesike [ca] paṁcasu paṁcasu ca vāsesu anusaṁyānaṁ nikhamaṁtu
3. et[ā]ye aṭhāye i[mā]ye dhaṁm-ānusathiye athā aṁnāye pi kaṁmane (/*) (IV) sādhu mātā-pitu-susus[ā] (/*)
4. (V) mita-saṁthuta-nātikānaṁ ca samana-baṁbhanānaṁ ca sādhu dāne (/*) (VI) pānānaṁ anālaṁbhe sādhu (/*) (VII) apa-viyayatā [a]pa-bha[3][ṁ]ḍata[ṁ]
5. sādh[u] (/*) (VIII) [palisā][4] pi cā gananasi yutāni [ana]payisaṁti hetute ca viyaṁjanate ca (/*)[5]

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. [देवानंपिये] पिय[दसि लाज हेवं] आहा (/*) II. दुवाडस-वसाभिसितेन [मे] इयं आनपयिते (/*) (2) III. [सवत] विजिते मम युता लाजूके पादेसिके [च] पंचसु पंचसु च वासेसु अनुसंयानं निखमंतु (3) एत[ा]-ये अठाये इ[मा]ये धंमानुसथिये अथा अंनाये पि कंमने (/*) IV. साधु माता-पितु-सुसुस[ा] (/*) (4) V. मित-संथुत-नातिकानं च समन-बंभनानं च साधु दाने (/*) VI. पानानं अनालंभे साधु (/*) VII. अप-वियत [अप]-[भं]ड[तं] (5) साधु (/*) VIII. [पलिसा] पि चा गननसि युतानि [अन]पयिसंति हेतुते च वियंजनते च (/*]

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

[1] The letters in some passages of the following lines of the edict are not clear on the impressions.
[2] The form expected is *vijitasi*.
[3] Chakravarti: *°viyāyatā apā°*.
[4] Chakravarti: *p[u]lisā pi ca*.
[5] There is a short line dividing this edict from Rock Edict VI.

(II) The [following] was ordered by me twelve years after my coronation.[6]

(III) Everywhere in my dominions, the officers,[7] [called] Rajjuka [and] Prādeśika,[8] shall set out every five years on a circuit for inspection [throughout their charges], as much for their other duties as for this [special] purpose of preaching Dharma [in the following words]:

(IV) "Meritorious is obedience to mother and father.

(V) "Meritorious is liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives and to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(VI) "Meritorious is abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(VII) "Meritorious is to spend little [and] to store little."

(VIII) And the Council [of Ministers] shall order the officers about the observance of these rules with reference to [both my] intention and [my] words.

Rock Edict VI[1]

TEXT

(*below Rock Edict III*)

1. (I) [Devānaṁpiye] Piyadasi lāj[ā] hevaṁ āha[2] (/°) (II) [atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ] no hūta-[3]puluve savaṁ kālaṁ aṭha-ka[ṁ]me paṭive[da]nā [vā] (/°) (III) se mamayā hevaṁ kaṭe (/°) (IV) [savaṁ] kālaṁ
2. [adamānasā][4] [o]lodhana[si][5] [gabh-āgālasi] [va]casi vinitasi uy[ā]nasi savatā paṭive[dakā] a[ṭhaṁ] ja[nasa] paṭi[ve]dayaṁtu me (/°) (V) savatā ca [janasa] a[ṭhaṁ]
3. [kachāmi hakaṁ] (/°) (VI) [yaṁ] pi [ca kichi] [mu]khate ā[napa]yāmi hakaṁ dā[pa]kaṁ vā sāvakaṁ vā [e] vā minā mahām[ā]tehi atiyāyike ālop[i]te hoti tāye athāye
4. [vivade] nijhati [va] saṁtaṁ pa[li]sāye [anaṁtali][6]yenā [pa°]tivedataviya-mate[7]

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[6] The expression may possibly also mean 'in the twelfth year after my coronation'.

[7] The Yuktas are regarded generally as a class of officers like the Rajjuka and Prādeśika. Cf., however, *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 308ff.

[8] The Prādeśika appears to have been the ruler of a group of districts and the Rajjuka that of a single district.

[1] Many of the passages of the edict are indistinct on the impressions.

[2] Chakravarti: *āhā*.

[3] Chakravarti: *huta*.

[4] Chakravarti: "These letters are indistinct on the rock."

[5] The word *me* is added before this word in the other versions.

[6] According to Chakravarti, these letters are partly visible on the rock.

[7] Chakravarti: [*ho*]*ti vedataviya-mate*.

m[e savata] savaṁ kālaṁ (/°) (VII) hevaṁ ānapayite mamayā (/°) (VIII) [nathi] hi me tose uthānasi[8]

5. aṭha-sa[ṁ]ti[lanāye] [ca][9] (/°) (IX) kaṭaviya-mate [hi][10] [me] [sava-loka-hite] (/°) (X) [tasa] ca mina esa mūle uthāne a[tha]-saṁtilanā ca (/°) (XI) nathi hi kaṁmatale sava-loka-hitena (/°) (XII) aṁ ca kichi

6. palakamāmi hakaṁ kiti bhūtānaṁ ānaniye yehaṁ hide ca kāni sukhāpayāmi pala-t[ā] ca sva(su)vagaṁ[11] [ā]lādhaya[tu] (/°) (XIII) se etāye[12] [i]yaṁ dhaṁ[ma-lipi] [le°]khitā cila-ṭhiti[ka][13] hotu

7. tathā ca me puta-natāle palakama[ṁ]tu sava-loka-hitāye (/°) (XIV) dukale cu kho iyaṁ aṁna[tā] agen[ā] palakamenā (/°)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. [देवनंपिये] पियदसि ला[जा] हेवं आह (/॰) II. [अतिकंतं] [अंतलं] नो हूत-पुलुवे सवं कालं अठ-[कं]मे पटिवे[द]ना [वा] (/॰) III. से ममया हेवं कटे (/॰) IV. [सवं] कालं (2) [अदमानसा] [ओ]लोधन[सि] [गभागालसि] [व]चसि विनितसि उ[या]नसि सवता पटिवे[दका] अ[ठं] ज[नस] पटि[वे]दयंतु मे (/॰) V. सवता च [जनस] अ[ठं] (3) [कछामि] [हकं] (/॰) VI. [यं] पि [च] [किछि] [मु]खते आ[नप]यामि हकं दा[प]कं वा सावकं वा [ए] वा मिना महा[मा]-तेहि अतियायिके आलो[पि]ते होति ताये अथाये (4) [विवदे] निझति [व] संतं प[लि]साये [अनंतलि]येना [प॰]तिवेदतविय-मते [मे] [सवत] सवं कालं (/॰) VII. हेवं आनपयिते ममया (/॰) VIII. [नथि] हि मे तोसे उथानसि (5) अठ-[सं]ति[लनाये] [च] (/॰) IX. कटविय-मते [हि] [मे] [सव-लोक-हिते] (/॰) X. [तस] च मिन एस मूले उथाने अ[थ]-संतिलना च (/॰) XI. नथि हि कंमतले सव-लोक-हितेन (/॰) XII. अं च किछि (6) पलकमामि हकं किति भूतानं आननिये येहं हिदे च कानि सुखापयामि पल[ता] च स्व(सु)वगं [आ]लाधय[तु] (/॰) XIII. से एताये (अठाये॰) [इ]यं धं[म-लिपि] [ले॰]खिता चिल-ठिति[क] होतु (7) तथा च मे पुत-नताले पलक[मं]तु सव-लोक-हिताये (/॰) XIV. दुकले चु खो इयं अंन[ता] अगे[ना] पलकमेना (/॰)

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) Formerly, in the ages gone by, there was no transaction of state-business and no reporting [of incidents to the king] at all hours.

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[8] Chakravarti: *uṭhānasi.* He also reads *uṭhāne* in line 5 (X) and *aṭhāye* in line 3 (VI).

[9] Chakravarti: "These letters are faintly visible on the rock."

[10] Chakravarti: "The letter is indistinct on the rock."

[11] Chakravarti: *svagam.*

[12] The word *aṭhāye* is omitted here.

[13] Chakravarti: °*ṭhitik[e].*

(III) So I have made the following [arrangement].

(IV) The reporters should report to me the affairs of the people at any time and place, whether I am engaged in eating [or] am in the harem [or] in the bed-chamber [or] on a promenade [or] in the carriage [or] on the march.[14]

(V) And I am now attending to the people's affairs at all places.

(VI) And, when I issue an order orally in connection with any donation or proclamation or when an emergent work presses itself upon the Mahāmātras [and] in case there is, in connection with that matter, a controversy among [the Ministers of] the Council or an argumentation[15] [in the Council in favour of a particular view], the fact must be reported to me immediately at any place and at any time.

(VII) Thus have I ordered.

(VIII) I am never complacent in regard to [my] exertion and the dispatch of people's business [by me].

(IX) I consider it my [main] duty [to promote] the welfare of all men.

(X) But exertion and prompt dispatch of business [lie at] the root of that.

(XI) There is verily no duty which is more [important to me] than promoting the welfare of all men.

(XII) And whatever effort I make is made in order that I may discharge the debt which I owe to all living beings, that I may make them happy in this world, and that they may attain heaven in the next world.

(XIII) Therefore this record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by me [on stone] for the following [purpose, viz.] that it may last for a long time and that my sons and grandsons may exert themselves for the welfare of all men.

(XIV) This, indeed, is difficult to accomplish without the utmost exertion.

Rock Edict XIV

[BOULDER A (EASTERN FACE—UPPER RIGHT CORNER)]

TEXT

1. iyaṁ dha[ṁ]ma-lipi Dẹvānaṁpiyena Piyadasin[ā][1] lājinā
2. li[khā]pitā(/*) (II) athi yeva saṁ[khi]tena[2] athi majhimena athi vitha-

[14] The word *uyāna* (Sanskrit *udyāna*) is generally taken to mean 'a pleasure garden'.

[15] The word *nijhati* is derived from the verb *nijhapayati* meaning 'to convince'. The verb is the same as *anunijhapayati* in the passage *anunayati anunijhapayati* in Rock Edict XIII, lines 18-19 (XIII).

[1] According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *na* on the rock.

[2] Chakravarti: *sukhitena*.

3. [ṭenā] (/*) (III) no hi savatā sa[ve] gha[ṭi]te ca (/*) (IV) mahalake hi vijite bahu ca
4. likhite likhāpayisami[3] c=eva nikāyaṁ (/*) (VI) athi cu heta [pu]na [pu]na la-
5. [pite] [tasa tasa] aṭhasa madhuliyāye ena[4] [ja]te(ne) tathā
6. [paṭipajeyā] (/*) (VI) [se] [siya] [ata ki]chi asamati likhite
7. desaṁ vā saṁ[khā][5] saṁkhāyāyā kālanaṁ va[6] ālocayitu
8. lipika[l-āpalā]dhena vā ti (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. इयं [धं]म-लिपि देवानंपियेन पियदखि[ना] लाखिना (2) लि[खा]पिता (/*) II. अथि येव सं[खि]तेन अथि मझिमेन अथि विथ(3)[टेना] (/*) III. नो हि सवता स[वे] घ[टि]ते च (/*) IV. महलके हि विजिते बहु च (4) लिखिते लिखापयिसमि चेव निकायं (/*) V. अथि चु हेत [पु]न [पु]न ल(5)[पिते] [तस तस] अठस मधुलियाये एन [ज]ते(ने) तथा (6) [पटिपजेया] (/*) VI. [से] [सिय] [अत कि]छि असमति लिखिते (7) देसं वा संखायाया कालनं व आलोचयितु (8) लिपिक[लापला]-धेन वा ति (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) This record relating to Dharma has been caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) [In the series of the records] there are, forsooth, [texts written] in a concise form, or in a medium form, or in an elaborate form.

(III) And all [the items of the series] have not been put together in all places.

(IV) For [my] dominions are wide, and much has been written, and I shall certainly cause still a lot [more] to be written.

(V) There are [some topics which] have been repeated over and over again owing to their sweetness, so that people may act accordingly.

(VI) Thus there may be some [topics which] have been written incompletely either as the [particular] place [of a record] was considered [unsuitable for them] or as a [special] reason for abridgment was thought [to exist], or owing to a fault of the scribe. scribe.

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[3] Chakravarti: °*sāmi*.

[4] Chakravarti: *yena*.

[5] These two *akṣaras* are redundant.

[6] Chakravarti: *vā*.

ROCK EDICTS XI, V AND VII

(BOULDER A-1 (I.E. NORTHERN FACE OF BOULDER A)]

Rock Edict XI

TEXT

(at the left end)

1. (I) Devāna[ṁ]piye hevaṁ āhā (/*) (II) nathi edise dāne ādise dhaṁma-dāne dhaṁma-sa[ṁ]tave
2. dhaṁma-savibhāge dhaṁma-saṁbadhe (/*) (III) ta [si][1] esa dāsa-bha[ṭaka]si sa[ṁ] mā-paṭipati māta-pitu[2]-susūsa
3. mita-saṁ[thu]ta-nātikānaṁ samana-baṁbhanāna[ṁ] dā[ne][3] pānānaṁ anālaṁbhe (/*) (IV) esa vataviye pitinā pi
4. [pu]tena pi bhā[ti]nā pi suvāmike[na*] pi mita-saṁthutena pi ā-paṭivesiyenā [pi*] iyaṁ sādhu iyaṁ kaṭaviye (/*)
5. (V) se tatha kalaṁtu hida-loke ca kaṁ āla[dhe] [ho]ti p[ā]lata[4] ca anaṁtaṁ [pu]naṁ pasavati tena dha[ṁma]-dā-
6. nenā (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. देवा[नं]पिये हेवं आहा (/*) II. नथि एदिसे दाने आदिसे धंम-दाने धंम-[सं]थवे (2) धंम-सविभागे धंम-संबधे (/*) III. त[सि] एस दास-भ[टक]सि [सं]मा-पटिपति मात-पितु-सुसूस (3) मित-सं[थु]त-नातिकानं समन-बंभना[नं] दा[ने] पानानं अनालंभे (/*) IV. एस वतविये पितिना पि (4) [पु]तेन पि भा[ति]ना पि सुवामिके[न*] पि मित-संथुतेन पि आ-पटिवेसियेना [पि*] इयं साधु इयं कटविये (/*) (5) V. से तथ कलंतु हिद-लोके च कं आल[धे] [हो]ति [पा]लत च अनंतं [पु]नं पसवति तेन [धंम]-दा(6)नेना (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) There is no such gift as the gift of Dharma, [no such acquaintance as] acquain-

[1] Chakravarti: *tasa*.

[2] Chakravarti says that the letter looks like *tuṁ* on the rock.

[3] According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *neṁ* on the rock.

[4] Chakravarti: *palata*.

tance through Dharma, [no such act of dividing as] the separation of Dharma [from what is not Dharma], [and no such kinship as] kinship through Dharma.

(III) The following [are comprised] in them, [viz.] proper courtesy to slaves and servants, obedience to mother and father, liberality to friends, acquaintances and relatives [as well as] to the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, [and] abstention from the slaughter of living beings.

(IV) [In respect of this], [whether one is a person's] father, or son, or brother, or master, or friend, or acquaintance, or [even a mere] neighbour, one ought to say [to him]: "This is meritorious. This ought to be done."

(V) Thus, if he acts in this manner, [happiness in] this world is attained [by him] and endless merit is produced [for him] in the next world by the said gift of Dharma.

Rock Edict V

TEXT

(in the middle)

1. (I) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā hevaṁ ā[hā] (/°) (II) kayāne dukale (/°) (III) e [ā]di-kale kayānasa se duka[la]ṁ kaleti (/°) (IV) se mamay[ā] bahu kayāne kaṭe (/°) (V) [ta] mama pu[ta]-natāle [palaṁ ca] [tehi[1]] [āpa]tiye me

2. ā[2]va-kapaṁ tathā anuvatisaṁti se sukaṭaṁ kacha[ṁti] (/°) (VI) e cu hetā desaṁ pi [hā]payisaṁti se dukaṭaṁ [ka°]chati (/°) (VII) pāpe hi nāma supadālaye (/°) (VIII) se atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalaṁ no huta-pu[lu]ve [dha]ṁma-[mahāma]tā [nāma] (/°)

3. (IX) se tedasa-vas-ābhisitena mamaya dhaṁma-mahām[ā]tā nā[ma] kaṭa (/°) (X) te sava-pāsaṁḍesu viyāpaṭā dhaṁm-[ā]dhithānāye ca dhaṁma-vaḍhiyā hita-[sukhā]ye ca[3] dhaṁma-yutasa Yo[na°]-Kaṁbo[ca]-Gaṁ[dhā]lā[na]ṁ [La][4]ṭhika-pe-

4. tinikanaṁ [e] vā pi aṁne a[pa]laṁtā/°) (XI) bhaṭām-ayesu baṁbhan-[i]bhiyesu ānāthesu vuḍhesu hita-sukhāye dha[ṁma]-yutānaṁ[5] apali[i]bodh[ā]ye viyāpaṭa te (/°) (XII) baṁdhana-badhasa paṭividhānā[ye]

5. apalibodhāye mokhaye ca i[yaṁ°] ānubaṁdha paja[va°] [ti][6] vā kaṭ-ābhikāle ti vā ma[hā]lake ti va viyāpa[ṭā] te (/°) (XIII) hidā [bā]hilesu ca nagalesu savesu [ca] olodhanesu [bhā]tinaṁ [pi ca me] [bhagini]naṁ ca

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[1] Chakravarti: *tehi e.*

[2] There appear to be no letters before this. The Shāhbāzgarhī version reads here the word *vrakṣaṁti* additionally.

[3] Chakravarti: *sukhaye va.*

[4] Chakravarti notices that the letter *la* looks like *le* on the rock.

[5] Chakravarti: *°yutāye.*

[6] Chakravarti: *pajāviti.*

6. e vā pi aṁne [nā]tike savata viyāpaṭa (/*) (XIV) e iyaṁ dhaṁma-nisite ti vā dhaṁma-adhithāne[7] ti vā dāna-sayute [ti*] vā sa[va]ta vijitasi mama dhaṁma-y[u]tasi viyāpa[ṭā] te dhaṁma-ma[hā]ma[tā] (/*) (XV) etāye a[ṭhāya]
7. iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhitā cila-ṭhitika hotu tathā ca me pajā anuvatatū[8] ti (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आ[हा] (/*) II. कयाने दुकले (/*) III. ए [आ]दि-कले कयानस से दुक[लं] कलेति (/*) IV. से मम[या] बहु कयाने कटे (/*) V. [त] मम पुत-नताले [पलं च] [तेहि आप]तिये मे (2) आव-कपं तथा अनुवतिसंति से सुकटं क[छंति] (/*) VI. ए चु हेता देसं पि [हा]पयिसंति से दुकटं [क]*छति (/*) VII. पापे हि नाम सुपदालये (/*) VIII. से अतिकंतं अंतलं नो हुत-पु[लु]वे [धं]म-[महाम]ता [नाम] (/*) (3) IX. से तेदस-वसाभिसितेन ममय धम-महा[मा]ता ना[म] कट (/*) X. ते सव-पासंडेसु वियापटा धं[मा]धिथानाये च धम-वडिया हित-[सुखा]ये च धंम-युतस योन[न*]-कंबो[च]-गं[धा]ला[नं] [ल] ठिक-पे(4)-तिनिकनं [ए] वा पि अंने अ[प]लंता (/*) XI. भटामयेसु बंभ[नि]भियेसु आनाथेसु वुढेसु हित-सुखाये [धंम]-युतानं अप[लि]बो[धा]ये वियापट ते (/*) XII. बंधन-बधस पटिबिधाना[ये] (5) अपलिबोधाये मोखये च इ[यं*] आनुबंध पजा[व*] ति वा कटाभिकाले ति वा म[हा]लके ति व वियापटा ते (/*) XIII. हिदा [बा]हिलेसु च नगलेसु सवेसु [च] ओलोधनेसु [भा]तिनं [पि च मे] [भगिनि]नं च (6) ए वा पि अंने [ना]तिके सवत वियापट (/*) XIV. ए इयं धंम-निसिते ति वा धंम-अधिथाने ति वा दान-सयुते [ति*] वा स[व]त विजितसि मम धंम-[यु]तसि वियाप[टा] ते धंम-म[हा]म[ता] (/*) XV. एताये अ[ठाय] (7) इयं धंम-लिपि लिखिता चिल-ठितिक होतु तथा च मे पजा अनुवततू ति (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) It is difficult to do good [to others].

(III) He who starts doing good [to others] accomplishes what is difficult [indeed].

(IV) Many a good deed has, however, been performed by me.

(V) And, [among] my sons and grandsons and the generations coming after them till the destruction of the world, [those who] will follow [this course] in the said manner will do an act of merit.

(VI) But whosoever among them will abandon even a part of it will do an act of demerit.

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[7] Chakravarti: *abhithāne.*

[8] Chakravarti: *anuvatatu.*

(VII) It is indeed easy to commit sin.

(VIII) And formerly, in the ages gone by, there were no [officers] called Dharma-Mahāmātras.

(IX) So indeed I created the [posts of] Dharma-Mahāmātras thirteen years after my coronation.

(X) These [officers] are occupied with all the religious sects[9] for the establishment of Dharma and for the promotion of Dharma as well as for the welfare and happiness of those who are devoted to Dharma [even] among the Yavanas, Kambojas and Gandhāras, and the Rāṣṭrika-paitryaṇikas (i.e. hereditary or tribal Rāṣṭrikas) and other peoples dwelling about the western borders [of my dominions].

(XI) They are occupied [not only] with the welfare and happiness of the servile class and the Aryas (i.e. the traders and agriculturists) as well as the Brāhmaṇas and the ruling class[10] and likewise of the destitute and the aged, [but also] with the release of the adherents of Dharma [amongst them] from fetters.

(XII) They are [similarly] engaged with the fettered persons [in the prisons, for working in] the following order: for the distribution of money to those amongst them who are encumbered with progeny, for the unfettering of those who have [committed crimes] under the instigation [of others][11] and for the release of those who are aged.

(XIII) They are engaged everywhere—here[12] and elsewhere in all the towns, in the households of my brothers and sisters and other relatives.

(XIV) These Dharma-Mahāmātras are engaged everywhere in my dominions among the adherents of Dharma [to determine] whether a person is [only] inclined towards Dharma or is [fully] established in Dharma or is [merely] given to charity.

(XV) This record relating to Dharma has been written [on stone] for the [following] purpose, [viz.], that [it] may last for a long time and that my descendants may conform to it.

Rock Edict VII

TEXT

(*at the upper right corner*)

1. (I) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja savata ichati
2. sav[e] p[ā]saṁḍa vaseyu (/*) (II) save hi te sayamaṁ bhāva-sudhi ca

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[9] The word *pāsaṁḍa* stands for Sanskrit *pārṣada* (i.e. member of a *parṣad* or religions group).

[10] For this interpretation of the four classes of people, see Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 23.

[11] Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 489 ; *Select Inscriptions, op. cit.*, p. 24.

[12] The Girnār text has 'at Pāṭaliputra' in place of this word.

3. ichaṁti (/°) (III) jane cu ucavuca-chaṁde uca-maṁgale[1] (/°) (IV) te savaṁ eka-desaṁ[2]
4. pi kachaṁti (/°) (V) vipule pi cu d[ā]ne asa nathi sayame bhāva-[su]dhi kiṭanata ca
5. diḍha-bhatitā ca nīce bāḍhaṁ (/°)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. देवानंपिये पियदषि लाज सवत इछति (2) स[वे] [पा]संड वसेवु (/*) II. सवे हि ते सयमं भाव-सुधि च (3) इछंति (/*) III. जने चु उचेवुच-छंदे उच-मंगले (उचवुच-लागे) (/*) IV. ते सवं (वा*) एक-देसं (4) पि (वा) कछंति (/*) V. विपुले पि चु [दा]ने अस नथि सयमे भाव-[सु]-धि किटनत च (5) दिढ-भतिता च नीचे बाढं (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, wishes that all religious sects should live [harmoniously] everywhere [in all parts of his dominions].

(II) In fact, all of them desire [to achieve] self-control and purity of thought.

(III) People, however, are of diverse inclinations and diverse passions.

(IV) They will perform either the whole or only a part [of their duty].

(V) However, even if [a person practises] great liberality but does not possess self-control, purity of thought, gratitude and firm devotion, [he is] quite worthless.

ROCK EDICTS IV, VIII AND X

[BOULDER B (RIGHT HALF)]

Rock Edict IV

TEXT

(at the top)

1. (I) [ati]kaṁ[ta]ṁ a[ṁta]laṁ bahuni [vasa-sa]tāni vaḍhite va
2. [pān-ālaṁbhe] vihis[ā] ca bhūtānaṁ nātinaṁ [a]-saṁpaṭipati
3. samana-baṁbhan[ā]na[ṁ] a-[saṁpaṭīpati] (/°) (II) se a[ja] Devānaṁpiyasa
4. Piyadasine lajine dhaṁma-ca[lanena][1] bheli-ghose aho dhaṁma-ghose (/°)
5. (III) vimāna-dasa[nā ca][2] hathini agi-kaṁ[dhā]ni aṁnāni ca diviyāni [lū]pāni
6. dasayi[tpā][3] ja[na°]sa ādise bahu[hi va]sa-satehi[4] no huta-puluve tādise

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[1] Better read *ucavuca-lāge* in conformity with the other versions.

[2] The reading intended is *savaṁ vā eka-desaṁ vā.*

[1] Chakravarti: °*nenā.*

[2] According to Chakravarti, the letter *ca* is faintly seen on the rock.

[3] Chakravarti: *dasiyiptu.*

[4] It appears that the engraver had first written *te* which he later changed to *sa.*

7. ajā[5] vaḍhite Devā[na][6]ṁpiyasa Piyadasine [lā]jine dhaṁma-anusathiyā[7]

8. anālaṁ[bhe] pānānaṁ avi[hi]sā [bhū]tānaṁ nātinaṁ [saṁpa]ṭipati samana-baṁbhanānaṁ

9. saṁpa[ṭi]pa[ti mā]tā-pitu-susūsā vuḍha-sū[susā][8] (/°) (IV) e[sa] aṁne ca [bahu-vi]dhe dhaṁma-calane vaḍhite

10. vaḍhayisati yeva ca Devāna[ṁ]piye Piya[dasi lā]ja imaṁ dhaṁma-calanaṁ (/°) (V) putā [ca kaṁ] natale[9] ca [pa]nātikā ca

11. Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasine [lāj]ine [va]ḍhayisaṁti yeva dhaṁma-[cala]naṁ [imaṁ] āva-[kapaṁ] dhaṁmasi [sīla]si ca ciṭhitu

12. dhaṁ[maṁ] anu[sā]s[i]saṁti (/°) (VI) [e]sa hi seṭhe kaṁma aṁ dhaṁm-[ānu]-[10] sāsanā (/°) (VII) dhaṁma-calane pi ca no hoti a-sīlasa (/°) (VIII) se imasa athasa

13. vaḍhi ahini ca sādhu (/°) (IX) etāye aṭhāye iyaṁ li[khite] imasa [a]ṭhasa [vaḍhi yu]jaṁtu hīni ca mā aloca[yi]su (/°) (X) duvāḍasa-[vas-ā°]-

14. bhisitenā[11] Devānaṁpiyenā Piyadasina lānajina[12] iyaṁ likh[i]te[13] (/°)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. [अति]कं[तं] अं[त]लं बहुनि [वस-स]तानि वढिते व (2) [पानालंभे] विहि[सा] च भूतानं नातिनं [अ]-संपटिपति (3) समन-बभ[नानं] अ-[संपटीपति] (/*) II. से अ[ज] देवानंपियस (4) पियदसिने लजिने धंम-चलनेन भेलि-घोसे अहो धंम-घोसे (/*) (5) III. विमान-दस[ना च] हथिनि अगि-कं[धा]नि अंनानि च दिवियानि [लु]पानि (6) दसयि[त्पा] ज[न*]स आदिसे बहु[हि] [व]स-सतेहि नो हुत-पुलुवे तादिसे (7) अजा वढिते देवा[नं]-पियस पियदसिने [ला]जिने धंम-अनुसथिया (8) अनालं[भे] पानानं अवि[हि]सा [भू]तानं नातिनं [संप]टिपति समन-बंभनानं (9) संप[टि]प[ति] [मा]ता-पितु-सुसूसा वुढ-सू[सुसा] (/*) IV. ए[स] अंने च [बहु-वि]धे धंम-चलने वढिते (10) वढयिसति येव च देवा[नं]पिये पिय[दसि] [ला]ज इमं धंम-चलनं (/*) V. पुता [च कं] नतले च [प]नातिका च (11) देवानंपियस पियदसिने [ला]जिने [व]ढयिसंति येव धंम-[चल]नं [इमं] आव-[कपं] धंमसि [सील]सि च चिठितु (12) धं[मं] अनु[सासि]संति (/*) [ए]स हि सेठे कंम अं धं[मानु]सासना (/*) VII. धंम चलने पि च नो होति अ-सीलस (/*) VIII. से इमस अथस (13) वढि अहिनि च साधु (/*)

5 Chakravarti: *aja.*

6 The letter is chipped off as stated by Chakravarti.

7 Chakravarti: *°sathiyaṁ.*

8 Chakravarti: *sūsūsā.*

9 Chakravarti: *natāle.*

10 Chakravarti: "There is a stroke above *nu*; but it does not seem to be the sign of medial *ā* connected with *m.*"

11 Chakravarti: "Some space is left between *nā* and *De.* This could not be inscribed owing to the roughness of the stone."

12 Read *lājina.*

13 There is a short line below *bhisitenā* in line 14 to separate this edict from the next record (Rock Edict VIII).

IX. एताये अठाये इयं लि[खिते] इमस [अ]ठस [वढि] [यु]जंतु हीनि च मा अलोच[यि]सु (/*) X. दुवाडस-[वसा*](14 भिभितेना देवानंपियेना पियदसिन लाजिन इयं लि[खि]ते (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) In times past, for many hundreds of years, slaughter of lives, cruelty to living creatures, disrespect to relatives and disrespect to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas increased indeed.

(II) But now, as a result of the practice of Dharma on the part of king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, [every] proclamation by the beating of drums has become the proclamation of Dharma.

(III) Abstention from the slaughter of life, absence of cruelty to living creatures, seemly behaviour to relatives, seemly behaviour to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, obedience to mother and father [and] obedience to the aged have increased now owing to the instruction in Dharma [imparted] by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, in such a degree as was not possible to achieve for many hundreds of years in the past by [means of] showing to the people the [representations of] celestial cars and [celestial] elephants, masses of fire (i.e., hell-fire) as well as [many] other heavenly forms.[14]

(IV) The practice of Dharma of the above kind as well as of various other kinds have increased and king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, will certainly cause such practices of Dharma to increase [still more].

(V) Further, the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, will promote this practice of Dharma till the time of universal destruction and, [themselves] abiding by Dharma and good conduct, will instruct [people] in Dharma.

(VI) Verily, instruction in Dharma is [considered by him to be his] supreme duty.

(VII) But the practice of Dharma is not possible for a person devoid of good conduct.

(VIII) Therefore, in the matter [of Dharma], an increase is good as also its non-decrease.

(IX) This [record] has been caused to be written for the following purpose, [viz.] that the promotion of Dharma should be adhered to and that no decrease of it should be countenanced.

(X) This record has been caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, twelve years after his coronation.

Rock Edict VIII

TEXT

(in the middle)

1. (I) atikaṁtaṁ aṁtalam Devanampiya vih[ā]la-yātaṁ nāma nikhamisu (/*) (II) heta migaviyā aṁnāni ca hedisāni ābhi[la]mani

[14] Cf. Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 26. In the place of 'fire', the Shāhbāzgarhi version has 'light', possibly meaning 'divine light'. See also below.

2. h[ū]su[1] (/*) (III) se Devānaṁpiye Pi[ya]dasi lāja[2] dasa-vas-ā[bh]isi[te] saṁtaṁ nikhamitha [Saṁbodhi] (/*) (IV) tena ta[3] dhamma-yātā (/*) (V) heta iyaṁ hoti

3. samana-baṁbhanānaṁ da[4]sane dāne ca vuḍhānaṁ dasane hilaṁna-paṭividhāne ca[5] jānapadasa janasa [da]sane dhaṁm-anusathi[6]

4. dhaṁ[ma]-palipucha tad-opayā (/*) (VI) esa bhuye-lati hoti Devānaṁpiyasa Piya-dasi[ne] lājine (/*) (VII) bhāge aṁne (/*)[7]

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. अतिकंतं अंतलं देवानंपिया वि[हा]ल-यातं नाम निखमिसु (/*) II. हेत मिगविया अनानि च हेदिसानि अभि[र]मनि (2) [हू]सु (/*) III. से देवानंपिये पि[य]दसि लाज दस-वसा[भि]सि[ते] संतं निखमिथ [संबोधि] (/*) IV. तेन त धंम-याता (/*) V. हेत इयं होति (3) समन-बंभनानं दसने दाने च वुढानं दसने हिलंन-पटिविधाने च जानपदस जनस [द]सने धंमनुसथि (4) धं[म]-पलिपुछ तदोपया (/*) VI. एस भुये-लति होति देवानंपियस पियदसि[ने] लाजिने (/*) VII. भागे अंने (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) In the ages gone by, [kings styled] 'Beloved of the Gods' used [only] to go out on tours of pleasure.

(II) During such [tours], hunting and other pastimes of the kind used to be [enjoyed by them].

(III) Now, king Priyadarśin Beloved of the Gods, visited Sambodhi (i.e. Mahābodhi, Bodhgayā) ten years after his coronation.

(IV) Thence started these pilgrimages for Dharma.

(V) During these [pilgrimages], the following take place, [viz.] visiting the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts [to them], meeting the aged and making provision of money [for them], and contacting the people of the countryside, instructing [them] in Dharma and discussing [with them] the principles of Dharma, this being conducive to the [above, i.e. their initiation into Dharma].

(VI) This is the supreme delight to king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(VII) [All his] other [pleasures] are inferior [to this].[8]

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[1] Chakravarti: *husu.*

[2] Chakravarti: *lājā.*

[3] Chakravarti: *tā.*

[4] Chakravarti: "There is a depression after *da* which looks like *ṁ* on the impression; but it is too high up."

[5] There seems to be a letter between *ca* and *jā.*

[6] Chakravarti: "There is no letter on the rock after *thi.*"

[7] There is a short line below *dhaṁma-pali*" showing the division of this edict from the next (Rock Edict X).

[8] For this interpretation, see *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 27-28; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 487. Cf. *bhagnā manorathāḥ* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII. 67.

Rock Edict X

TEXT

(at the bottom)

1. (I) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja yaso va kiṭi vā no mahaṭha-vahaṁ[1] manati aṁnata tadātāye āyatiyā ca jane dhaṁma-s[u]sūsaṁ
2. sususatu me dhaṁma-yu(vu)taṁ ca anuvidhiyatū [ti] (/*) (II) etakāye[2] Devānaṁpi[ye] Piyadasi lāja yaso vā kiṭi vā ichati[3] (/*)
3. (III) [yaṁ] cu kichi palakamati Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lāja savaṁ taṁ palatikā[ye vā] kīti sakale apa-palisave [siyā]ti
4. [ti][4] (/*) (IV) esa cu palisave e apune(/*) (V) dukale [cu[5] kho] esa khudakena va vagenā[6] usaṭena va aṁna[ta] agena palakamenā
5. savaṁ palitijitu (/*) (VI) heta cu kho usaṭen = eva dukale (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज यसो व किटि वा नो महठ वहं मनति अंनत तदाताये आयतिया च जने धंम-[सु]-सूसं (2) सुसुसतु मे धंम-यु(वु)तं च अनुविधियतू [ति] (/*) II. एताकाये देवानंपि[ये] पियदसि लाज यसो वा किटि वा इछति (/*) III. [यं] चु किछि पलकमति देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज सवं तं पलतिका[ये वा] कीति सकले अप-पलिसवे [सिया]ति (4) [ति] (/*) IV. एस चु पलिसवे ए अपुने (/*) V. दुकले [चु खो] एस खुदकेन व वगेना उसटेन व अंन[त] अगेन पलकमेना (5) सवं पलितिजितु (/*) VI. हेत चु खो उसटेनेव दुकले (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, does not consider either glory [in this life] or fame [after death] as of great consequence, except [in regard to] the following,[viz.] that, at present as well as in future, the people [of his dominions] would practise obedience to Dharma [as instructed] by him[7] and also that they would act in accordance with the principles of Dharma.

(II) On this account [alone], king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, desires glory and fame.

(III) Whatever endeavours are made by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, all those are made only for the sake of [the people's happiness in] the other world [and] in order that all men should have little pollution.

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[1] Chakravarti: "A little space is left after *haṁ* which could not be inscribed owing to a depression in the rock."

[2] Chakravarti: "Before *de* a little space is left, enough for one letter which could not be engraved." But the impressions do not indicate this.

[3] Chakravarti: *ich[ā]ti.*

[4] Chakravarti does not notice this letter.

[5] Chakravarti ignores the letter.

[6] Chakravarti: *vagena.*

[7] The original has *me, i.e.* 'by me', here.

(IV) And what is sinful is pollution.

(V) This [freedom from pollution] is indeed difficult to achieve both by the poor class and the rich[8] if they do not make great efforts by renouncing all [other aims].

(VI) Between [the two classes], [this] is certainly [more] difficult for the rich [to achieve].

ROCK EDICT XIII

[BOULDER B-I (I.E. LEFT HALF OF BOULDER B) AND BOULDER C]

TEXT

(*Boulder B-1, lines 1-29*)

1. (I) [aṭha]-vas-ābhisitasa Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasine
2. [lā]jine Kaligā [vi]jitā (/°) (II) diya[ḍha]-m[i]te pāna-[sa]ta-[sa]-
3. [ha]se [ta]ph[ā] apavūḍhe sata-sahasa-m[i]t[e] tata hate bahu-
4. tā[vata]ke [va] maṭe (/°) (III) [tato] pachā a[dhu]nā ladhe[su] [Ka]lig[e]su
5. [tive] dha[ṁ]mā-v[ā]ye dha[ṁma]-kāma[tā] dha[ṁ]m-a[nu]sath[i] ca Devānaṁpi[ya]sa (/°)
6. (IV) se ath[i] [a°][nusaye] Dev[ā]naṁpiya[sa] vijini[tu] Ka[ligāni] (/°) (V) [a]-vijitaṁ [hi]
7. [vi]ji[na]mane [e] tata vaḍha [vā] [ma]lane va apa[va][1]he [vā ja]nasa se bāḍhaṁ vedaniya-ma[te]
8. [gu]lu-[mate] ca Devānaṁpiyasa (/°) (VI) [iyaṁ] pi cu tat[o] gulu-ma[ta-ta]le Devānaṁpi[ya]sa
9. e tata vasati bā[bha]nā v[ā] saman[ā] v[ā] a[ṁ]ne va pāsaṁ[ḍā] [giha]thā va [ye°]su vihi[tā]
10. [esa agabhuti][2]-s[u]s[ū]s[ā] māt[ā]-[pi]tu-[susū]sā gulu-susūsā mita-[s]ṁthuta-sahāya-
11. nātikesu d[ā]sa-bha[ṭakasi] [saṁmyā-paṭipati][3] [diḍha-bha]titā ca te[sa][4] tatā hoti [upaghā]te va vadhe vā
12. [abhi]latā[naṁ va] [vini]kha[mane] (/°) (VII) [yesaṁ] [vā pi] suvi[hi]tā[naṁ] [si]nehe av[ipahine] e tānaṁ [mita-saṁ]-
13. thu[ta-sahāya-nātike] viyasanaṁ pā[pu][5]n[ā]ti [tata] se [pi tānaṁm = eva] [u]-paghāte [ho]ti (/°) (VIII) paṭi[bhāge] ca esa

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[8] The word *usaṭa* literally means 'the people of high status'.

[1] Chakravarti: "The letter *va* is completely effaced on the rock."

[2] Chakravarti: "The letters *bhuti* are very faintly traceable on the rock."

[3] It seems that *ṭi* has been corrected to *ti*. Chakravarti: *samyā-paṭipati*.

[4] Chakravarti says that the letter looks like *saṁ* on the rock. He reads *tesa tata*.

[5] According to Chakravarti, the letter looks like *pū* on the rock.

14. [sava-manu[6]sānaṁ gulu]-mate ca Devānaṁpiyasa (/*) (IX) nathi ca [se] jānapa-[de] a[ta] [nathi] ime ni[k]āyā aṁ[natā][7]

15. [Yone[8]su][bā]bhane ca samane ca (/*) (X) nathi nathi[9] ca kuvāpi janapada[si] a[ta na]thi [munisā]naṁ e[kata[10]lasi] [pi]

16. [pāsaṁḍasi[11] no nāma pasāde] (/*) (XI) [a][12] se ā[va]take jane tad[ā] Kali[13]gesu [ha]te ca maṭe ca apa[vuḍhe] [ca tato][14] [sata-bhāge va]

17. [sahasa-bhā][15]ge va [a[16]ja gulu-mate vā] Devānaṁpiyasa (/*) (XII) e pi aja a-[pa]kaleya khamita[viya]-ma[te][17] va Devānaṁ[piyena]

18. [yaṁ sa]ki[ye khamitave] (/*) (XIII) [ā pi ca] aṭavi Devānaṁpiyasa vijitasi hoti [taṁ pi anunayati] [anunijhapaya]-

19.[18] [ti][19] (/*) (XIV) [anutāpe] pi ca pabhāve Devānaṁpiyasa vucati tesaṁ [ki]ti avatapeyu no pi [ca haṁ]ne-

20. [yu] (/*) (XV) [ichati] hi Devānaṁpiye sava-[bhū]tānaṁ sām-aca[li]-

21. [yaṁ mādavaṁ] (/*) (XVI) iyaṁ [cu mokhya]-mu[te] vija[y]e Devānaṁpiyasa e dhaṁ-[20]

22. ma-vijaye (/*) (XVII) se mana ladhe Devānaṁpiyasa hida [va][21] bā(ca) [save]sū ca aṁ[tesu] ā [sasu yo]-

23. [ja[22]na-satesu][23] Aṁtiyoke nama Y[o]na-[lā]ja [palaṁ] [p]i[24] t[e]nā Aṁtiyokenā catā[li] [lā]j[i]ne

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[6] Chakravarti: "The first four letters of the line are rubbed off on the rock."

[7] Chakravarti reads *ta* and remarks, "The last letter looks like *tā* due to a protrusion on the rock."

[8] Chakravarti: "The first two letters are rubbed off."

[9] These two *akṣaras* are redundant.

[10] Chakravarti: "The letters *kata* have been rubbed off."

[11] Chakravarti: "The first three letters are faintly traceable on the rock."

[12] This *akṣara* is engraved superfluously.

[13] Chakravarti: "There is a dot which may be meant for an *anusvāra* though it is too high up."

[14] Chakravarti: "The letters *tato* are rubbed off; but the rest is readable on the rock."

[15] Chakravarti: "The letters *saha* and *bhā* are faintly traceable on the rock."

[16] Chakravarti: "This letter is completely rubbed off."

[17] Chakravarti: "The letter *te* is rubbed off."

[18] Some passages in the following lines on the boulder are indistinct on the impressions and, in some cases our reading has been influenced by Chakravarti's transcript.

[19] Chakravarti: "The letter *ti* is rubbed off."

[20] This is not a complete line. This shows that the crack and the hole in the rock were in existence at the time of engraving.

[21] Chakravarti: "The first letter looks more like *va* than *ca*; the second is a certain *bā*. There does not seem to be any other letter in between. I cannot connect *bā* with any word in the context."

[22] Chakravarti: "The letter *ja* is completely robbed off."

[23] Chakravarti: "I cannot trace *ata* after this on the rock."

[24] Chakravarti: *ca*.

24. [Tula]maye [nāma][25] Aṁt[i]k[e]ni n[āma][26]

25. [Makā[27] nāma] Alika[28][suda]le nāma nitiyaṁ[29] Co[ḍā] Paṁḍiyā ā Ta[ṁ]bapaniye (/°) (XVIII) hem = eva hi[da][30]

26. lā[ja-visavasi][31] [Yo]na-Kambocesu [Nā][32]bha[ka]- [Nā]bhapaṁtisu Bhoja-pitinikesu [Aṁ]dha-Pāla[desu][33]

27. [savata Devā][34]naṁpiyasa dhaṁm-ānusathi anuvataṁti (/°) (XIX) a[ta[35] pi] dūtā Devāna[ṁ]piyasa no yaṁti

28. te pi sutu Dev[ā]naṁpiyasa dhaṁma-vutaṁ vidhanaṁ dhaṁm-ānusathi

29. dhaṁmaṁ anuvidhiyi[saṁti][36] anuvidhisa[ṁ]ti[37] [c = e]va (/°) (XX) [se ladhe] eta[kena hoti][38]
(*Boulder C, lines 30-36*)

30. sa[va]ta vijaye savathi[39] pana vijay[e] pīti-lase se (/°) (XXI) ladhā sā pīti h[o]ti dhaṁma-v[i]ja-

31. yasi (/°) (XXII) lahuk[ā] cu kho sā pīti (/°) (XXIII) palatikaṁm = eva mahāphala[ṁ] maṁnati Devānaṁ-

32. piye (/°) (XXIV) etāye ca [a]ṭhāye iyaṁ dhaṁma-lipi likhitā kiti puta-papotā [me]

33. aṁnaṁ[40] na[vaṁ] vijayaṁ mā[41] vijetaviyaṁ maṁnisu sayakasi yeva vijaya[si][42]

34. [khaṁ]tī ca lahu-[daṁḍa]taṁ ca locaya[ṁ]tu taṁm = eva [ca] vijayaṁ maṁnaṁtu e dhaṁ-

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[25] Chakravarti: "Only the lower portion of *ma* is visible on the rock."

[26] Chakravarti: "This is only a half line which could not be continued because of a deep depression on the rock."

[27] Chakravarti: "*Makā* is faintly visible on the rock."

[28] Chakravarti: "This letter looks like *kā* on the rock." The following *akṣara* may be *suṁ*.

[29] Other versions have *nica* or *nicaṁ*, i.e. *nīcam*, 'towards the south'. The reading intended here may be *niciyaṁ*, i.e. *nīcyam*, in the same sense.

[30] Chakravarti: "The letter *da* is faintly visible on the rock."

[31] Chakravarti: "These letters are visible on the rock."

[32] "The letter *nā* is chipped off."

[33] These two letters are engraved on the other side of the crack.

[34] Chakravarti: "These five letters are faintly visible on the rock."

[35] Chakravarti: "The letter *ta* is chipped off."

[36] Read °*vidhiyaṁti*.

[37] Chakravarti: "The sign for *ṁ* is not clear on the rock." He omits *c = eva*.

[38] The last three letters are engraved on the other side of the crack.

[39] Read *savathā*.

[40] Chakravarti: *asu*. He omits *me*.

[41] Chakravarti: *ma viji*°.

[42] Chakravarti: "The letter *si* is not clear on the rock."

35. ma-[vi][ja°]ye (/°) (XXV) se[43] hi hidalokika-pā[la°][lo]kike (/°) (XXVI) [yā] va ca k[ā] n[i]lati hotu

36. [ā dhaṁ]ma-lati (/°) (XXVII) s[ā][44] hi hidalokika-pālalokikā (/°)

TEXT IN NĀGARI SCRIPT

(1) I. [अठ]-वषाभिसितस देवानंपियस पियदसिने (2) [ला]जिने कलिगा [वि]जिता (/*) II. दिय[ड]-[मि]ते पान-[स]त-[स](3)[ह]से [तफा] अपवुढे सत-सहस-मिते तत हते बहु-(4) ता[वत]के व मटे (/*) III. [ततो] पछा अ[धु]ना लधे[सु] [क]लि[गे]सु (5) [तिवे] [धं]मा-[वा]ये [धंम]-काम[ता] [धंमनु]स[ठि] च देवानंपि[य]स (/*) (6) IV. से अ[थि] [अ*][नुसये] दे[वा]नंपिय[स] विजिनि[तु] क[लिगानि] (/*) V. [अ]विजितं [हि] (7) [वि]जि[न]मने [ए] तत वध [वा म]लने व अप[व]हे [वा] [ज]नस से वाढं वेदनिय-मते (8) [गु]लु-[मते] च देवानंपियस (/*) [इयं] पि चु त[तो] गुलु-म[त-त]ले देवानंपि[य]स (9) ए तत वसति बा[भ]ना [वा] सम[ना] [वा अं]ने व पासं[डा गिह]था व [ये*]सु विहि[ता] (10) [एस] [अगभुति-सुसूसा] मा[ता-पि]तु-[सुसू]सा गुलु-सुसूसा मित-[सं]थुत-सहाय-(11) नातिकेसु [दा]स-भ[टकसि] [संम्या-पटिपति] [दिढ-भति]ता च ते[स] तता होति [उपघा]ते व वधे वा (12) [अभिलता]नं वं विनि[खमने] (/*) VII. [येसं] [वा पि] सुवि[हि]ता[नं] [सि]नेहे अ[विपहिने] ए तानं [मित-सं](13)थु[त-सहाय-नातिके] वियसनं पा[पुना]ति [तत]से [पि] [तानंमेव] [उ]पघाते [हो]ति (/*) VIII. पटि[भागे] च एस (14) [सव-मनुसानं] [गुलु]-मते च देवानं-पियस (/*) IX. नथि च [से] जानप[दे] अ[त] [नथि] इमे नि[का]या अं[नता] (15) [योनेसु] [बा]भने च समने च (/*) X. नथि-नथि(नथि) च कुवापि जनपद[सि] अ[त] [न]थि [मुनिसा]नं ए[कतलसि] [पि] (16) [पासंडसि] [नो नाम] [पसादे] (/*) XI. [अ]-से (से) आ[व]तके जने त[दा] कलिगेसु [ह]ते च मटे च अप[वुढे] [च ततो] [सत-भागे व] (17) [सहस-भागे] व अ [ज] [गुलु-मते वा] देवानंपियस (/*) XII. ए पि अज अ[प]-कलेय खमत[विय-म]ते व देवानं[पियेन] (18) [यं स]कि[ये खमितवे] (/*) XIII. [या पि च] अटवि देवानंपियस विजितसि होति [तं पि] [अनुनयति] [अनुनिझपय] (19) [ति] (/*) XIV. [अनुतापे] पिच पभावे देवानंपियस वुचति तेसं [कि]ति अवतपेयु नो पि [च हं]ने (20) [यु] (/*) XV. [इछति] हि देवानंपिये सव-[भू]तानं अछति सयमं समच[लि] (21) [यं] [मादवं] (/*) XVI. इयं [चु मुख्य-मु]ते विज[ये] देवानंपियस ए धं(22)म-विजये (/*) XVII. से मन लधे देवानंपियस हिद [व] बा(च) [सवे]सू च अंतिसु आ [ससु यो](23) [जन-सतेसु] अंतियोके नाम [यो] न-[ला]ज [पलं] [पि] [ते]ना अंतियोकेना चता[लि] [लाजि]ने (24) [तुल]मये [नाम] अं[तिके]नि [नाम] (25) [मका नाम] अलिक[सुद]ले नाम नितियं चो[डा]पंडिया आ[त]बपनिये (/*) XVIII. हेमेव हि[द] (26) ला[ज-विसवसि] [य]न कंबोचेसु [ना]भ[क]-[ना]भकपंतिसु भोज पितिनिकेसु [अं]ध-पाल[देसु] (27) [सवत देवा]नंपियस धंमानुसथि अनुवतंति (/*) XIX. अ[त पि] दूता देवा[नं]पियस नो यंति (28) ते पि सुतु दे[वा]नंपियस धंम-वुतं विधनं धंमानुसथि (29) धंमं अनुविधियि[संति](धियंति) अनुविधियि-[सं]ति [चे]व (/*) XX. [से लधे] एत[केन होति] (30) स[व]त विजये सवथि(था)पन विज[ये] पीति-लसे से (/*) XXI. लधा सा पीति होति धंम-[वि]ज(31)यसि (/*) XXII. लहु[का] चु खो सा पीति (/*)

[43] Chakravarti omits this.

[44] Chakravarti: *sa*.

XXIII. पलतिकमेव महाफ[लं] मंनति देवानं (32) पिये (/*) XXIV. एताये च [अ]ठाये इयं धंमलिपि लिखिता पुत-पपोता [मे] (33) अंनं न[वं] विजयं मा विजेतवियं मंनिसु सयकसि येव विजय[सि] (34) [खं]ती च लहु-[दंड]तं च लोच[यं]तु तंमेव [च] विजयं मंनंतु ए धं(35)म-[वि][ज*]ये (/*) XXV. से हि हिदलोकिक-पा[ल*][लो]किके (/*) XXVI. [या] व च [का] [नि] लति होतु (36) [आ धं]म-लति (/*) XXVII. [सा] हि हिदलोकिक-पाललोकिका (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) [The country of] the Kaliṅgas was conquered for king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, eight years after his coronation.

(II) [In this war in Kaliṅga], men and animals numbering one hundred and fifty thousands were carried away [captive] from that [country], [as many as] one hundred thousands were killed there [in action], and many times that number perished.

(III) After that, now that [the country of] the Kaliṅgas has been conquered, the Beloved of the Gods is devoted to a zealous discussion of Dharma, to a longing for Dharma and to the inculcation of Dharma [among the people].

(IV) Now, this is [due to] the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods, on having conquered [the country of] the Kaliṅgas.

(V) Verily, the slaughter, death and deportation of men, which take place there in the course of the conquest of an unconquered country, are now considered extremely painful and deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(VI) But what is considered even more deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods is [the fact that] injury to or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones falls to the lot of the Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas, the adherents of other sects and the householders, who live in that country [and] among whom are established such [virtues] as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants.

(VII) And, if misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives of persons who are full of affection [towards the former], even though they are themselves well provided for, [the said misfortune] as well becomes an injury to their own selves.

(VIII) [In war], this fate is shared by all [classes of] men and is considered deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(IX) Excepting the country of the Yavanas, there is no country where these two classes, [viz.] the Brāhmanas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist.

(X) And there is no place in any country where men are not indeed [sincerely] devoted to one sect [or other].

(XI) Therefore, [the slaughter, death or deportation] of even a hundredth or thousandth part of all those people who were either slain or died or were carried away [cap-

tive] at that time in Kaliṅga, is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XII) Now the Beloved of the Gods thinks that, even if [a person] should wrong him, that [offence] would be forgiven if it is possible to forgive it.

(XIII) And the forest-[folk] [who live] in the dominions of the Beloved of the Gods, even them he entreats and exhorts [in regard to their duty].

(XIV) [It is hereby] explained [to them] that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power [enough to punish them for their crimes], so that they should turn [from evil ways] and would not be killed [for their crimes].

(XV) Verily the Beloved of the Gods desires [the following] in respect of all creatures, [viz.] non-injury [to them], restraint [in dealing with them], impartiality [in the cases of crimes committed by them, and] mild behaviour [towards them].

(XVI) So, what is conquest through Dharma is now considered to be the best conquest by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XVII) And such a conquest has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods not only here [in his own dominions] but also in the territories bordering [on his dominions], as far away as [at the distance of] six hundred Yojanas, [where] the Yavana king named Antiyoka [is ruling and where], beyond [the kingdom of] the said Antiyoka, four other kings named Tulamāya, Antikeni, Makā and Alikasudara [are also ruling], [and] towards the south, where the Coḍas and Pāṇḍyas [are living], as far as Tāmraparṇī.

(XVIII) Likewise here in the dominions of His Majesty, [the Beloved of the Gods], —in [the countries of] the Yavanas and Kambojas, of the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis, of the Bhoja-paitryaṇikas (i.e., hereditary or tribal Bhojas) and of the Andhras and Paulindas,[45] everywhere [people] are conforming to the intructions in Dharma [imparted] by the Beloved of the Gods.

(XIX) Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the Gods have not penetrated, there too [men] have heard of the practices of Dharma and the ordinances [issued and] the instructions in Dharma [imparted] by the Beloved of the Gods, [and] are conforming to Dharma [and] will continue to conform to it.

(XX) So, [whatever] conquest is achieved in this way, verily that conquest [creates an atmosphere of] satisfaction everywhere [both among the victors and the vanquished].

(XXI) In the conquest through Dharma, satisfaction is derived [by both the parties].

(XXII) But that satisfaction is indeed of little consequence.

(XXIII) Only happiness [of the people] in the next world is what is regarded by the Beloved of the Gods as a great thing [resulting from such a conquest].

(XXIV) And this record relating to Dharma has been written [on stone] for the following purpose, [viz.] that my sons and great-grandsons [who may flourish after me] should not think of any fresh conquest [by arms] as worth achieving, that they should adopt [the policy of] forbearance and light punishment [towards the vanquished, even

[45] Cf. *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 399-400. For the change of *l* to *r* in this name in the Girnar version, cf. the Sopārā fragment of Rock Edict IX below.

if they] themselves achieve the conquest [of a people by arms], and that they should regard the conquest through Dharma as the [true] conquest.

(XXV) Such [a conquest] brings happiness [to all concerned both] in this world and in the next.

(XXVI) And let all their intense joys be what is pleasure associated with Dharma.

(XXVII) For this brings happiness in this world as well as in the next.

ROCK EDICT XII

[BOULDER D]

1. (I) Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi lājā sava-pāsa[ṁ]ḍāni pavajitāni
2. [gihathāni va] [pūjayati dāne]na vividhāya ca p[ūja]yā (/°) (II) no cu tathā dānaṁ va
3. [pūjā] va Devānaṁpiye maṁna[ti] a[tha][1] [kiti sāla-vaḍhi] s[iyā] sava-pāsaṁḍānaṁ (/°) (III) sāla-[va]-
4. ḍhi cu bahu-vidh[ā][2] (/°) (IV) tasa cu [i]yaṁ m[ū]l[e] a vaca-gu[ti] kiti ata-pāsaṁ[ḍa]-[pūjā] va pala-pāsaṁḍa-galahā
5. [vā no] siyā a-pakalanasi la[hu]kā [va] [si]yā ta[si] ta[si pa]kala[na]si (/°) (V) [pū]je[taviya] va cu pala-pāsaṁḍ[ā] tena [te]na
6. ākālena (/°) (VI) hevaṁ kalaṁtaṁ ata- pāsaṁḍa[ṁ] bā[ḍhaṁ] vaḍha[ya]ti pala-pā[saṁ]ḍasa pi ca upakaleti (/°) (VII) tad-aṁnath[ā] kala[ṁta]
7. a[ta°]-pāsaṁḍaṁ ca chanati pala-pāsaṁ[ḍasa][3] pi ca apakale[ti] (/°) (VIII) e hi kechi ata-pāsaṁḍaṁ pūjayeti [pa]la-pāsaṁḍaṁ v[ā] galahati[4]
8. save ata-pāsaṁḍa-bha[tiyā va] ki[ti a][5]ta-pāsaṁ[ḍa]ṁ di[paye]ma [ti] se ca mana tathā kalaṁtaṁ b[ā]ḍhatale upahaṁti ata-pāsaṁḍaṁ (/°) (IX) se sama-
9. vāye [va] sādhu ki[ti] aṁnam-anāsa [dhaṁmaṁ sunevu] ca susūseyu ca (/°) (X) hevaṁ hi De[vā]naṁpiya[sa] [i]chā kiti sava-pāsaṁḍā
10. bahu-sutā ca kayān-āgamā ca huvey[u ti] (/°) (XI) e [ca] tata tata [pasaṁnā] te hi vataviy[e] (/°) (XII) Devānaṁpiye no tath[ā] dānaṁ v[ā] [pū]ja v[ā] maṁnati
11. atha kiti sāla-vāḍhi si[yā] sava-pāsa[ṁ]ḍānaṁ ti (/°) (XIII) [ba]huk[ā] ca etāye a[ṭhā]ye viyāpaṭā dhaṁma-[ma]hāmātā ithidhiya[kha]-mahām[ā]tā
12. vaca-bhūmiko(kā)[6] ca aṁne ca nikāyā (/°) (XIV) iyaṁ [cu e]tasa phale [ata-pāsaṁḍa-vaḍhi] ca hoti dhaṁmasa ca d[ī]panā ti (/°)

[1] Chakravarti: "This letter is not clear on the rock."

[2] Chakravarti: "The *ā* sign is not clear on the rock."

[3] Chakravarti: "These two letters are not clear on the rock."

[4] Chakravarti: "There seems to be a letter like *va* on the rock at the end of the line after *ti*."

[5] Chakravarti: "The letter *a* is not clear on the rock."

[6] Chakravarti: *bhumikā*.

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

I. देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा सव-पा[सं]डानि पवजितानि (2) [गिहयानि व] [पूजयति दाने]न विविधाय च [पूज]या (/*) II. नो चु तथा दानं व (3) [पूजा] व देवानंपिये मंन[ति] अ[थ] [किति] [साल-वडि] [सिया] सव-पासंडानं (/*) III. साल-[व](4)डि चु बहु-वि[धा] (/*) IV. तस चु [इ]यं [मूले] अ वच-गु[ति] किति अत-पासं[ड-पूजा] व पल-पासंड-गलहा (5) [वा नो] सिया अ-पकलनसि ल[हु]का [व] [सि]या त[सि] त[सि] [प]कल[न]सि (/*) V. [पू]जे[तविय] व चु पल-पासं[डा] तेन [ते]न (6) आकालेन (/*) VI. हेवं कलंतं अत-पासं[डं] बा[ढं] वढ[य]ति पल-पा[सं]डस पिच उपकलेति (/*) VII. तदंन[था] क[लंत] (7) अ[त*]-पासंडं च छनति पल-पासं[डस] पिच अपकले[ति] (/*) VIII. एहि केछि अत-पासंडं पूजयेति [प]ल-पासंडं [वा] गलहति (8) सवे अत-पासंड-भ[तिया व] कि[ति अ]त-पासं[डं] दि[पये]म [ति] से चू मन तथा कलंतं [बा]ढतके उपहंति अत-पासंडं (/*) IX. से समं(9)वाये [व] साधु कि[ति] अंनमनास [धंमं सुनेवु] च सुसूसेयु च (/*) X. हेवं हि दे[वा]नंपिय[स इ]छा किति सव-पासंडा (10) बहु-सुता च कयनागमा च हुवे[यु ति] (/*) XI. ए [च] तत तत [पसंना] ते हि वतवि[ये] (/*) XII. देवानंपिये नो त[था] दानं [वा] [पू]ज [वा] मंनति (11) अथ किति साल-वढि सि[या] सव-पा[सं]डानं ति (/*) XIII. [ब]हु[का] च एताये अ[ठा]ये वियापटा धंम-[म]हामाता इथिधिय[ख]-महा[मा]ता (12) वच-भूमिको(का) च अंने च निकाया (/*) XIV. इयं [चु ए]तस फले [अत-पासंड-वढि] च होति धंमस च [दी]पना ति (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) King Priyadarsin, Beloved of the Gods, honours men of all religious communities with gifts and with honours of various kinds, [irrespective of whether they are] ascetics or householders.

(II) But the Beloved of the Gods does not value either the [offering of] gifts or the honouring [of people] so [highly] as the following, viz. that there should be a growth of the essentials [of Dharma] among [men of] all sects.

(III) And the growth of the essentials [of Dharma is possible in] many ways.

(IV) But its root [lies] in restraint in regard to speech, [which means] that there should be no extolment of one's own sect or disparagement of other sects on inappropriate occasions and that it should be moderate in every case even on appropriate occasions.

(V) On the contrary, other sects should be duly honoured in every way [on all occasions].

(VI) If [a person] acts in this way, [he] not only promotes his own sect, but also benefits other sects.

(VII) But, if [a person] acts otherwise, [he] not only injures his own sect but also harms other sects.

(VIII) Truly, if [a person] extols his own sect and disparages other sects with a view to glorifying his own sect owing merely to his attachment [to it, he] injures his own sect very severely by acting in that way.

(IX) Therefore restrained speech[7] is commendable, because people should learn and respect [the fundamentals of] one another's Dharma.

(X) This indeed is the desire of the Beloved of the Gods that persons of all sects become well-informed [about the doctrines of different religions] and acquire pure knowledge.

(XI) And those who are attached to their respective [sects] should be informed as follows:

(XII) "The Beloved of the Gods does not value either the [offering of] gifts or the honouring [of people] so [highly] as the following, viz. that there should be a growth of the essentials [of Dharma] among [men of] all sects."

(XIII) Indeed, many of my officers are engaged for the [realisation of] the [said] end, [such as] the Mahāmātras in charge of [the affairs relating to] Dharma, the Mahāmātras who are superintendents [of matters relating to] the ladies [of the royal household], the officers in charge of [my cattle and] pasture lands and other classes [of officials].

(XIV) And the result [of their activities, as expected by me], is the promotion of one's own sect and the glorification of Dharma.

ROCK EDICT IX

[BOULDER E]

TEXT

1. (I) Devānaṁpiy[e] Pi[yada]si lāj[ā] hevaṁ ā[hā] (/°) (II) [ja]ne u[c-āvucaṁ][1]
2. maṁgalaṁ [ka]leti [ābā]dha[2]si ā[vā]ha[si] vīvāhasi paj-upadāye[3] (/°) (VIII) et-[ā]ye
3. aṁnāye ca hed[is]āye jane ba[hu] maṁ[ga]laṁ [ka]laṁti (/°) (IV) [hetā cu][4] aṁbaka-ja[5][nikā] ba[hu] ca bahu-vidhaṁ ca
4. [khu]dā ca nila[thi][6]yaṁ ca maṁgalaṁ kal[aṁ]ti (/°) (V) [se] kaṭa[viye c= eva] kh[o] maṁgale (/°) (VI) apa-phale cu kh[o] es[e] (/°) (VII) iyaṁ cu [kho]

[7] The expression in the original is generally taken to stand for Sanskrit *samavāya* meaning 'concord'. It may, however, also suggest Sanskrit *sāma-vāda* meaning 'restrained speech' which is apparently intended by the word *saṁyama* used in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī text. Cf. *dhaṁma-vāya* for Sanskrit *dharma-vāda* in Rock Edict XIII, line 5. See *Proc. IHC*, Hyderabad, 1941, p. 144; *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 33, note 6.

[1] Chakravarti: "The three letters are faintly visible on the rock."

[2] Chakravarti: "A little space is left between *bā* and *dha* which could not be inscribed owing to a depression in the rock."

[3] Other versions have a word like *pavāsasi* after this.

[4] Chakravarti: "The leter *cu* is partly visible on the rock."

[5] Chakravarti: "The letter *ja* looks like *jāṁ* on the rock." He reads *janiyo*.

[6] Chakravarti: "The engraver seems to have inscribed *ya* at first and then changed it into *thi*."

5. maha-[pha]le [e] dhaṁma-maṁgale (/°) (VIII) het[ā] iyaṁ [dā]sa-[bha]ṭa[ka]si samyā-paṭipati g[u]lune apa[citi] pānānaṁ saya[me]

6. [samana-baṁbha]nana[ṁ dāne][7] (/°) (IX) esa aṁne ca [he]di[se] dhaṁma-maṁgale n[ā]ma (/°) (X) se vataviye pi[t]in[ā] pi pu[te[8]na]

7. [pi] bhāti[ke]na pi[9] mita-saṁthu[tena] pi [ava-paṭive]si[yena][10] pi (/°) (X) iyaṁ sā[dhu] (/°) (XII) iyaṁ kaṭaviye maṁga[le āva][11]

8. athasa ni[vu]tiyā nivuta]si[12] vā mi[na i]maṁ kachami[13] (/°) (XIII) e [hi itale maṁ]gale sa[ṁ]sayi[ke] se (/°) (XIV) siyā [va[14] taṁ]

9. aṭhā nivatayeyā [si]yā [se] no (/°) (XV) [hi]da-lokik[e] c[= e]va [se] (/°) (XVI) i[yaṁ] mina dhaṁ[ma]-maṁgala[le] a-kālike (/°) (XVII) haṁc[e pi] [taṁ][15]

10. aṭhaṁ no nivatayati [hi]da atha [pala][17]ta anaṁtaṁ [puṁ]naṁ [pa]savati (/°) (XVIII) [haṁ]ce minā [taṁ pi][18] a[ṭhaṁ] nivate[ti] [hi]da [tato][19]

11. [ubho] ladhe hoti hida ca se aṭhe [pala]ta ca [anaṁ]taṁ pu[20]naṁ pasavati tena [dhaṁma]-maṁgalenā (/°)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. देवानंपि[ये] पि[यद]सि ला[जा] हेवं आ[हा] (/*) II. जने उ[चावुचं] (2) मंगलं [क]लेति [आबा]धसि आ[वा]ह[सि] विवाह[सि] पजुपदाये (/*) III. ए[ता]ये (3) अंनाये च हे[दिसा]ये जने बहु मं[ग]लं [क]लंति (/*) IV. [हेता चु] अंबक-ज[निका] ब[हु] च बहुविधं च (4) [खु]दा च निल[थि]यं च मंगलं क[लं]ति (/*) [से] कट[विये] [चेव] [खो] मंगले (/*) VI. अपफले चु [खो] ए[से] (/*) VII. इयं चु [खो] (5) मह-[फ]ले [ए] धंम-मंगले (/*) VIII. हे[ता] इयं [दा]स-[भ]ट[क]सि सम्या-पटिपति [गु]लुने अप[चिति] पानानं सय[मे] (6) [समन-बभं] न[नं दाने] (/*) IX. एस अंने च [हे] दि[से] धंम-मंगले [ना]म (/*) X. से

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[7] Chakravarti: "The letter *ne* is faintly visible on the rock."

[8] Chakravarti: "The letter *te* is completely rubbed off." The following two letters also cannot be traced on the impressions.

[9] Chakravarti: "The passage *bhātikena pi* is written between lines 6 and 7 above their beginning." The passage *suvāmikena pi* has been omitted in this version.

[10] Chakravarti reads *[pa]tev[e]si[yena]* and says that the last two letters look like *lene* on the rock.

[11] Chakravarti: "The word *tasa* which occurs in other versions after this is not visible on the rock. It may have been chipped off."

[12] Chakravarti: "There is a little space between *ta* and *si*, which is left uninscribed owing to the roughness of the stone." He reads *va*.

[13] Chakravarti: *kachāmi*.

[14] Chakravarti: "The letter *va* is only partly visible on the rock."

[15] Chakravarti: "The letter *taṁ* is not visible on the rock."

[16] Chakravarti: "The letter *taṁ* is only partly visible on the rock."

[17] Chakravarti: "The letter *la* is completely rubbed off."

[18] Chakravarti omits *pi*.

[19] Chakravarti: "This is not found on the rock and is probably chipped off."

[20] Chakravarti: "The sign for *ṁ* after *pu* is not visible on the rock." He reads *ubhe* and *palate*.

वतविये पि[तिना] पि पु[तेन] (7) [पि] भाति[के]न पि मित-संथु[तेन] पि [अव-पटिवे]सि[येन] पि (/*) XI. इयं सा-[धु] (/*) XII. इयं कटविये मंग[ले] [आव] (8) अयस नि[वू]तिया निवु-[त] सिया मि[न] [इ]मं कछमि (/*) XIII. ए [हि इतले] [मं]गले [सं]सयि[के] से (/*) XIV. सिया [व तं] (9) अठा निवर्तयया [सि]या [से] नो (/*) XV. [हि]द-लोकि[के] [चे]व [से] (/*) XVI. इ[यं] मिन धं[म]-मंग[ले] अ-कालिके (/*) XVII. हं[चे] [पि तं] (10) अठं नो निवतयति [हि]द अथ [पल]त अनंतं [पुं]नं [प] सवति(/*) XVIII. [हं]-चे मिना [तं पि] अ[ठं] निवते[ति हि]द [ततो] (11) [उभो] लध होति हिद च से अठे [पल]त च [अनं]तं पुनं पसवति तेन[धंम]-मंगलेना (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods.

(II) People perform various [kinds of] auspicious ceremony on the occasion of illness, the wedding of a son, the wedding of a daughter, [and] the birth of children.

(III) On these and similar other occasions, people perform many [kinds of] auspicious ceremony.

(IV) And on such [occasions], the womenfolk [in particular] perform many and diverse [kinds of] ceremony which is trivial and meaningless.

(V) An auspicious rite, however, should certainly be performed.

(VI) But the said [kind of rites] in fact produces meagre results.

(VII) [On the other hand], such a ceremony as is associated with Dharma produces great results.

(VIII) In it are [comprised] the following, [viz.] proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, restraint in [one's dealings with] living beings, [and] liberality to the Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.

(IX) These and similar other [virtues] are indeed the ceremonies of Dharma.

(X) Therefore, whether [one is a person's] father, or son, or brother, or friend, or acquaintance, or [even a mere] neighbour, one ought to declare [to him as follows]:

(XI) "This [kind of rite associated with Dharma] is good."

(XII) "One should observe this practice until one's [desired] object is attained and [resolve that] this [practice] will be observed by him[21] again [and again] even after the object is attained."

(XIII) The auspicious ceremony [of kinds] other than this is indeed of dubious [value].

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[21] The original has 'by me'.

(XIV) Perchance a person may attain his object [by performing those ceremonies], perchance he may not.

(XV) Moreover, [performance of those ceremonies] may produce results in this world only.

(XVI) But the [said] rite of Dharma is not restricted to time.

(XVII) If [a person performs it but] does not attain his object in this world, even then endless merit [for him] is produced [by it] in the next world.

(XVIII) And, if [a person] attains his object in this world, both [the results] are obtained [by him, viz.], that the [desired] object [is attained] in this world as also endless merit is produced [for him] in the next world by that ceremony of Dharma.

CHAPTER II

FRAGMENTARY ROCK EDICTS AT SOPARA AND KANDAHAR

I. RE IX at Sopara

In 1882 Bhagvanlal Indraji discovered a broken slab of basalt bearing part of some lines of Rock Edict VIII of Aśoka (roughly one-third of the edict) in a place near the Bhātelā pond to the east of the town of Sopārā (ancient Sūrpāraka in Aparānta) in the Bassein Taluk of the Thana District, Maharashtra.[1] The discovery suggested that a complete set of the fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka must have originally existed near Sopārā. This possibility has received further support from the recent discovery of another broken slab of basalt containing parts (a little above half) of Rock Edict IX of the series in the same neighbourhood. On the 1st of January 1956, N. A. Gore, Librarian of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, discovered this fragment in the village of Bhuigāon near Sopārā. Both the fragments are now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. When I visited the Museum in January 1952, the authorities were kind enough to allow me to examine and copy the inscription.

The inscribed surface of the slab is oval in shape. Its length is about 26 inches and height about 22 inches. It contains eleven lines of writing. The number of letters in the lines is as follows: 1—13, 2—14, 3—20, 4—20, 5—21, 6—20, 7—19, 8—19, 9—18, 10—17 and 11—17. Each letter is about 1¼ inches in height. The preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory, although a few letters are damaged here and there in most of the lines. In several cases, flaws in the stone look almost like vowel-marks attached to particular consonants. Since there are what may be regarded as traces of two or three letters of a twelfth line beneath the concluding part of line 11, the preservation of all the letters in the other lines may be taken to suggest that only the lower part of the inscribed face of the slab has broken away. But we have to take into account the oval shape of the slab as well as the facts that none of the letters are lost at the beginning and end of any of the lines and that the lines about the middle contain more letters than those in the upper and lower parts of the inscribed face which is elliptical in size. These seem to suggest that the few marks beneath line 11 may not actually be traces of a lost line and that the face of the slab contains the whole of the original writing of the inscription which was continued on another slab. It any case, at Sopārā, the Rock Edicts were apparently engraved in groups on separate slabs just as at Erraguḍi.

As expected, the characters of the inscription are Brāhmī and its language is Prakrit. The letter *ra* is of the cork-screw type while *ya* is of both of the Indian plough and tripartite types (cf. *Devānaṁpiye Piyadasi* in line 1 and *aṁnāye cu edisāye* in line 4).

[1] See *JBBRAS*, Vol. XV, p. 282; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. xv, 118 and Plate.

Dha has its back to the right of the vertical. The text does not strictly follow the draft of any of the published versions of the edict. Thus *pujūpadāye* (line 3; instead of *putra-lābhesu* or *pajupadane*) connects it with Dhauli, Jaugaḍa, Mānsehra and Eṟṟaguḍi; *aṁnāye* (line 4; instead *añaṁhi* or *añaye*) with the Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Kālsī texts (although, for *aṁne* in line 10, Mānsehra has also *aṇe* instead of *añe*); *pitinā* (line 11; instead of *pitā* or *pitunā*) with the same versions; *aṁbaka-janiko,* literally 'mothers and wives' (line 5; instead of *mahiḍāyo, ithī* or *striyaka* meaning 'ladies' or 'women') with the Eṟṟaguḍi, Kālsī and Mānsehra texts; and *baṁbhana-samanānaṁ* (lines 9-10; instead of *samana-bamhanānaṁ* or *śramaṇa-bramaṇana*) with the Girnār text which, however, retains *ṇa* of the Sanskrit spelling of the words. The use of *na* for *ṇa* in *baṁbhana-samana* (Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa*) also connects our record with the Kālsī, Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Eṟṟaguḍi texts. But there are some peculiarities of the orthography of the present text of the edict, which are not noticed in any other versions. In retaining *ra* of Sanskrit without changing it to *la*, our text shows affinity with the Girnār, Mānsehra and Shāhbāzgaṛhī versions as against the Dhauli, Eṟṟaguḍi, Jaugaḍa and Kālsī texts. But the present text exhibits the interesting feature of changing *la* of Sanskrit to *ra* not generally noticed in any other version of the edict. Indeed, this characteristic is found only in a few cases in the Girnār, Mānsehra and Shāhbāzgaṛhī versions of the fourteen Rock Edicts (cf. the root *ārabh* for Sanskrit *ālabh* in Rock Edict I). The Sanskrit words *maṅgala* and *phala* have been modified to *maṁgara* (six times in lines 2, 4, 6-7, 8 and 10-11) and *phara* (twice in line 7). The word *samiya* in *samiya-paṭipati* (Sanskrit *samyak-pratipatti*) in lines 8-9 is spelt in the other versions as *samya, samyā* or *saṁma.* The modification of *ka* into *ya* in *nirathiyaṁ* (line 6) is noticed in several other texts of the edict; but the elision of *ya* in *e* (Sanskrit *yaḥ*) in line 7 is noticed at Dhauli and Eṟṟaguḍi while the other texts (except Jaugaḍa which is damaged in this part) have *ye*, although the same consonant in Sanskrit *yāvat* is elided in all the versions except Shāhbāzgaṛhī which retains it in one out of two cases.[2] The introduction of *h* in *heta* (Sanskrit *atra;* cf. *eta* in line 5) in line 8 is noticed in the Kālsī and Eṟṟaguḍi texts. But *edise* (Sanskrit *etādṛśaḥ*) in line 10 is found as *heḍise* in the Kālsī, *ediśa* in the Mānshera and *etārisaṁ* in the Girnār version. In *dāsa-bhaṭakasi* (Sanskrit *dāsa-bhṛitake*) our text differs from the Girnār version which has *dāsa-bhatakamhi.*

TEXT[3]

1. (I) D[e]vā[na][4]ṁpiye Piyadasi r[ā]j[ā] hevaṁ
2. āha (/°) (II) jane uc-āvucaṁ maṁgaraṁ ka[ro]ti
3. [ā]b[ā]dhasi [ā]vāhasi[5] vivāhasi paj-ūpadāye pav[ā]sa-

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[2] See Girnār once in line 6 (Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 16), Kālsī twice in lines 25-26 (*ibid.*, p. 37), Shāhbāzgaṛhī in one of the two cases in line 19 (*ibid.*, p. 60), Mānsehra twice in line 6 (*ibid.*, p. 78) and Dhauli once in line 5 (*ibid.*, p. 90). This part of the Jaugaḍa text is damaged. But Kālsī exhibits the elision of *y* in *e* elsewhere in the edict, *e.g.*, in line 26 (*ibid.*, p. 37).

[3] From impressions.

[4] What looks like an *ā-mārā* of *na* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

[5] What looks like an *ā-mātrā* of *ha* appears to be due to a flaw in the stone.

4. si (/°) (III) etāye aṁnāye cu edisāye jane bahū maraṁ[6] ka[ro]-
5. ti (/°) (IV) [e]ta cu aṁbaka-janiko bahū ca ba[hū]-vidhaṁ ca khudaṁ ea
6. ni[rathiya]ṁ ca maṁgaraṁ ka[ro]ti (/°) (V) se ka[ṭa]viye c = eva kho maṁ-
7. gare (/°) (VI) apa-phare cu kho es[o][7] (/°) (VII) i[yaṁ] cu kho maha-phare e dhaṁ-
8. ma-maṁgare (/°) (VIII) heta iyaṁ[8] dāsa-[bha]ṭakasi samiya-paṭi-
9. pat[i] gurun[o] apaciti pānānaṁ saya[me] baṁbhana-
10. sama[nā]naṁ dāne[9] (/°) (IX) esa aṁno[10] ca edise dhaṁma-ma[ṁ]-
11. [gare] nāma (/°) (X) [se] vatavi[11][y]e pitīnā pi putena pi

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. [दे]वा[नं]पिये पियदसि [राजा] हेवं (2) आह (/*) II. जने उचावुचं मंगरं क[रो]ति (3) [आबा]धसि आवाहसि विवाहसि पजूपदाये प[वा]स(4)सि (/*) III. एताये अंनाये चु एदिसाये जने बहू म(मं)(ग*)-रं क[रो](5)ति (/*) IV. [ए]त चु अंबक-जनिको बहू च बहू-विधं च खुदं च (6) नि[रथियं] च मंगरं क[रो]ति (/*) V. से क[ट]विये चेव खो मं(7)गरे (/*) VI. अप-फरे चु खो ए[सो](से) (/*) VII. इयं चु खो मह-फरे ए धं(8)म-मंगरे (/*) VIII. हेत इयं दास-[भ]टकसि समिय-पटि(9)प[ति] गुरु[नो] अपचिति पानानं सय[मे] बंभन-(10) समन[ना]नं दाने (/*) IX. एस अंनो(ने) च एदिसे धंम-[मं](11)-[गरे] नाम (/*) X. से वतवि[ये] पितीना पि पुतेन पि

II. Greek Version of RE XII and XIII at Kandahar

V. A. Smith believed that, according to the Classical authors, Seleucus surrendered to Candragupta Maurya (c. 324-300 B.C.) the districts of Aria (Herat region), Arachosia (Kandahār area), Paropamisadae (Kabul region) and Gedrosia (Baluchistan area),[1] while W. W. Tarn thinks that Candragupta received no part even of the Paropamisadae, but only the land lying 'east of a line starting from the Kunar river and following the watershed to somewhere near Quetta and then going to the sea by Kalat and the Purali river'.[2] But Tarn conceded that Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.), grandson of Candragupta, 'established

[6] Read *maṁgaraṁ*.

[7] The intended reading seems to be *ese*.

[8] What looks like an *e-mātrā* of *ya* appears to be due to a flaw in the stone.

[9] What looks like an *anusvāra* after *dā* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

[10] The intended reading is possibly *aṁne*. Cf. note 7 above. But it may be *aṁṇa* also.

[11] What looks like an *ā-mātrā* of *ta* seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

[12] A comparison with the text of the edict in the other versions (e.g., Errgudi, above, pp. 38-39 will show that the extant part of the record contains a little more than a half of the edict. The lost part contained a few letters less than the number of letters in the extant portion.

[1] *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, pp. 159-60.

[2] *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1957, p. 100.

some form of rule or suzerainty over the Paropamisadae'.[3] This could have hardly convinced any student of Indian history because Aśoka does not claim the conquest of any territory other than Kaliṅga. After the discovery of Aśoka's Kandahār edicts in 1958 and 1964, it can be definitely said that Tarn's views are wrong and that Smith is right at least in respect of the inclusion of Central and Southern Afghanistan in Aśoka's empire inherited from his father and grandfather. Uttarāpatha with Takṣaśilā (Taxila) as its capital was included in the empire of Bindusāra according to tradition.[4]

In 1958, a rock edict of the Maurya emperor Aśoka was discovered in Southern Afghanistan at a place called Shar-i-Kuna near Kandahār in the vicinity of the site of the ancient city of 'Alexandria among the Arachosians', founded by Alexander the Great. It is a bilingual record, one of the versions being Greek meant for the Greek or Yavana subjects of the Maurya emperor. The other version is in Aramaic which was the language of the Achaemenian administration and was apparently meant for the Kambojas who were Iranians settled in the north-western region of the Maurya empire and are mentioned in Aśoka's edicts (RE V and XIII) as a subject people.[5]

The contents of the said edict, which we have called Minor Rock Edict IV,[6] prove that the Kandahār region formed a part of the empire of Aśoka. Its Greek version begins with the passage "Ten years having elapsed since his coronation, king Priyadarśin (Aśoka) has been showing piety to the people. And since then, he has rendered the people more pious, and all people prosper on the whole earth." It goes on to say, "And the king abstains from the slaughter of living beings, and other people including the king's hunters and fishermen have given up hunting. And those who could not control themselves have now ceased not to control themeselves as far as they can. And they have become obedient to their father and mother and to the old people, contrary to what was the case previously. And, henceforth. by so acting, they will live in an altogether better and more profitable way."

Likewise the Aramaic version, which mentions the Maurya emperor as 'our lord', and 'our lord, the king', has the following passage at the beginning: "Ten years having passed, it so happened that our lord, Priyadarśin (Aśoka), became the Institutor of Truth. Since then, evil decreased among all men, and all misfortunes he caused to disappear, and here are now peace and joy in the whole earth." It then speaks of Aśoka's Dharma regulations and their results: "And, moreover, there is this to note in regard to food: for our lord, the king, only a few animals are killed; having seen this, all men have given up the slaughter of animals; even the fishermen are now subject to prohibition. Simi-

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 101. Tarn's contention that RE V calls the Greeks (in company with the Kambojas, Gandhāras and Rāṣṭrikas) a frontier people while RE XIII mentions them as Aśoka's subjects is based on misunderstanding because the words *anta* and *pratyanta* are used by Aśoka to indicate the people inhabiting the outlying districts of the Maurya empire as also those who lived outside. It has been overlooked that the Gandhāras and Rāṣṭrikas, mentioned together with the Yavanas (Greeks), cannot be regarded as living outside Aśoka's empire.

[4] Cf. *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 371.

[5] See below: also the Erraguḍi texts above.

[6] See *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 28-29, 39-40.

larly, those who are without restraint have now ceased to be without restraint. And obedience to mother and father and to old men flourishes now in conformity with the obligations imposed by fate on each person." In conclusion, it says, "And, for all the pious men, there is no final Judgment. This (i.e. the practice of Dharma) has been profitable to all men and will be more profitable in future."

In the year 1964, another Greek inscription of Aśoka, which substantiates the evidence of the Graeco-Aramaic edict referred to above, was discovered near Kandahār which appears to have been the headquarters of a province in which the concentration of the Greek (Yavana) and Kamboja subjects of Aśoka was the most conspicuous, even though both the peoples may have had other settlements in Afghanistan and Pakistan.[7] This new Greek inscription corresponds to Rock Edicts XII and XIII, though the earlier part of RE XII and the latter part of RE XIII are lacking. The above fact suggests that the present record is a continuation of what was engraved elsewhere in the neighbourhood and was itself continued in another place. From this it may be legitimatedly concluded that a Greek version of the whole set of the fourteen major Rock Edicts of Aśoka was engraved at the place concerned. It is also possible to conjecture further that, side by side with the said Greek version, an Aramaic version of the fourteen Rock Edicts were also engraved for the Kamboja people of the locality.

We quote below, for the sake of comparison, our translation of the Shāhbāzgarhī version of Rock Edicts XII and XIII side by side with a translation of the fragments of the Kandahār version of the two edicts based on that of the French scholars.

Shāhbāgaṛhī Version of RE XII.[8]

"King Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods (i.e. Aśoka), honours men of all religious communities with gifts and with honours of various kinds, irrespective of whether they are ascetics or householders. But the Beloved of the Gods does not value either the offering of gifts or the honouring of people so highly as the following, viz., that there should be a growth of the essentials of Dharma among men of all sects. And the growth of the essentials of Dharma is possible in many ways. But its root lies in restraint in regard to speech, which means that there should be no extolment of one's own sect or disparagment of other sects on inappropriate occasions and that it should be moderate in every case even on appropriate occasions. On the contrary, other sects should be duly honoured in every way on all occasions. If a person acts in this way, he not only promotes his own sect, but also benefits other sects. However, if a person acts otherwise, he not only injures his own sect, but also harms other sects. Truly, if a person extols his own sect and disparages other sects with a view to glorifying his sect owing merely to his attachment to it, he injures his own sect very severely by acting in that way. Therefore restraint in re-

[7] See Daniel Schlumberger in 'Une nouvelle inscription grécque d' Aśoka'. *Comptes rendus des séances de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1964, pp. 1-15; Émile Benveniste in 'Edicts d' Aśoka en Traduction Grécque', *Journal Asiatique*, 1964, pp. 137-57. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 193 ff.

[8] Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

gard to speech is commendable, because people should learn and respect the fundamentals of one another's Dharma. This indeed is the desire of the Beloved of the Gods (Aśoka) that persons of all sects become well-informed about the doctrines of different religions and acquire pure knowledge. And those who are attached to their respective sects should be informed as follows: 'The Beloved of the Gods (Aśoka) does not value either the offering of gifts or the honouring of people so highly as the following, viz., that there should be a growth of the essentials of Dharma among men of all sects. Indeed, many of my (i.e. the king's) officers are engaged for the realization of the said end, such as the Mahāmātras in charge of the affairs relating to Dharma, the Mahāmātras who are superintendents of matters relating to the ladies of the royal household, the officers in charge of my cattle and pasture lands, and other classes of officials. And the result of their activities, as expected by me, is the promotion of each one's sect and the glorification of Dharma'."

Kandahār Version of RE XII (latter part)

". . . . [King Priyadarśin does not value the offering of the gifts or the honouring of people so highly as the following, viz.,] piety and self-control among all schools (i.e. among the people of all religious sects). One can keep self-control best when one controls one's tongue. And let them not extol themselves (i.e. their own sects) and disparge others (i.e. other sects) on any account. For this is conceit, and it is better to try to extol other [sects] and not to disparage them in any manner. By doing this, they become greater and gain the good will of others; by transgressing this, they do a disservice to their name and attract the ill will of others. Those who extol themselves (i.e. their own sects) and disparge other [sects] evince inordinate pride; by wanting to shine more than others, they rather harm themselves. It is advisable to respect one another mutually and, for every one, to accept the lessons of others. By doing this, they will increase their knowledge by passing on mutually what every one of them knows. Let there be no hesitation about telling this to those who put this into practice, so that they may persist always in piety."

Shāhbāzgarhī Version of RE XIII[9]

"The country of the Kaliṅgas was conquered by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods (i.e. Aśoka), eight years after his coronation. In this war in Kaliṅga, men and animals, numbering one hundred and fifty thousands were carried away captive from that country, as many as one hundred thousands were killed there in action, and many times that number perished. After that, now that the country of the Kaliṅgas has been conquered, the Beloved of the Gods is devoted to an intense practice of the duties relating to Dharma, to a longing for Dharma and to the inculcation of Dharma among the people. This is due to the repentance of the Beloved of the Gods on having conquered the country of the Kaliṅgas. Verily, the slaughter, death and deportation of men which take place in the course of the conquest of an unconqured country are now considered extremely painful and deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods (Aśoka). But what is con-

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-53.

sidered even more deplorable by the Beloved of he Gods is the fact that injury to or slaughter or deportation of the beloved ones falls to the lot of the Brāhmaṇas, the Śramaṇas, the adherents of other sects and the householders, who live in that country and among whom are established such virtues as obedience to superior personages, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders and proper courtesy and firm devotion to friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives as well as to slaves and servants. And, if misfortune befalls the friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives of persons who are full of affection towards the former, even though they are themselves well provided for, the said misfurtune as well becomes an injury to their own selves. In war, this fate is shared by all classes of men and is considered deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods. Now, really there is no person who is not sincerely devoted to a partcular religious sect.[10] Therefore the slaughter, death or deportation of even a hundredth part of all those people who were slain or who died or were carried away captive at that time in Kaliṅga is now considered very deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods (Aśoka). Now the Beloved of the Gods thinks that, even if a person should wrong him, the offence would be forgiven if it is possible to forgive it. And the forest-folk who live in the dominions of the Beloved of the Gods, even them he entreats and exhorts in regard to their duty. It is hereby explained to them, that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power enough to punish them for their crimes, so that they should turn away from evil ways and would not be killed for their crimes. Verily, the Beloved of the Gods desires the following in respect of all creatures, viz., non-injury to them, restraint in dealing with them, and impartiality in the case of crimes committed by them. So, what is conquest through Dharma is now considered to be the best conquest by the Beloved of the Gods (Aśoka). And such a conquest has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods not only here in his own dominions, but also in the territories bordering on his dominions, as far away as at the distance of six hundred *yojanas,* where the Yavana king named Antiyoka is ruling and where, beyond the kingdom of the said Antiyoka, four other kings named Tulamāya, Antikini, Maka and Alikasundara are also ruling, and, towards the south where the Colas and Pāṇḍyas are living as far as Tāmraparṇī. Likewise, here in the dominions of His Majesty, the Beloved of the Gods,—in the countries of the Yavanas and Kambojas, of the Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis, of the Bhoja-paitryaṇikas and of the Andhras and Pulindas—everywhere people are conforming to the instructions in Dharma imparted by the Beloved of the Gods (Aśoka). Even where the envoys of the Beloved of the Gods have not penetrated, there too men have heard of the practices of Dharma and the ordinances issued and the instructions in Dharma imparted by the Beloved of the Gods, and are conforming to Dharma and will continue to conform to it. So, whatever conquest is achieved in this way, verily, that conquest creates an atmosphere of satisfaction everywhere both among the victors and the vanquished. In the conquest through Dharma, satisfaction is derived by both the parties. But that satisfaction is indeed of little consequence. Only happiness of the people in the next world is what is

[10] This is put differently in the other versions. The Kālsī version, e.g., says, "Excepting the country of the Yavanas, there is no country where these two classes, viz., the Brāhmanas and the Śramaṇas, do not exist; and there is no place in any country where men are not indeed sincerely devoted to one sect or the other." See *ibid.*, p. 51, note.

regarded by the Beloved of the Gods (Aśoka) as a great thing resulting from such a conquest. And this record relating to Dharma has been written on stone for the following purpose, viz., that my sons and great-grandsons should not think of a fresh conquest by arms as worth achieving, that they should adopt the policy of forbearance and light punishment towards the vanquished even if they conquer a people by arms, and that they should regard the conquest through Dharma as the true conquest. Such a conquest brings happiness to all concerned both in this world and in the next. And let all their intense joys be what is pleasure associated with Dharma. For this brings happiness in this world as well as in the next."

Kandahār Version of RE XIII (initial portion)

"In the eighth year of his reign, Priyadarśin (i.e. Aśoka) conquered Kaliṅga. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were captured there and deported from there, one hundred thousand others were killed and almost as many perished. Since that time, piety and compassion gripped him and he was overwhelmed by that. Just as he prescribed to abstain from living beings, he established zeal in the organisation for piety. And, behold, what the king was still more afflicted by (or, this also the king felt with great sorrow): all those who inhabited there (i.e. in Kaliṅga), the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas or other followers of piety as well—those who inhabited there had to be concerned about the interests of the king, to revere and respect their teacher, their father and mother, to love and not to deceive their friends and companions, and to treat their slaves and servants as mildly as possible (or, with the utmost kindliness possible)—if, from among those who were behaving there like that, one was dead or deported, other people are also indirectly affected by this, and the king is extremely afflicted by it. And, as with the other peoples, there is [no place in the country where men are not indeed sincerely devoted to one sect or the other.]. . . ."

When we compare the Greak version of the two edicts with their Prakrit versions which are written in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī and are found in different parts of India and Pakistan, the first thing that attracts our attention is that the former is not really a Greek translation of the latter, but represents a condensed version.

This reminds us of RE XIV in which Aśoka himself says, "In the series of records, there are, forsooth, texts written in a concise form, or in a medium form, or in an elaborate form. And all the items of the series have not been put together in all places. For my dominions are wide and much has been written and I shall certainly cause still more to be written."[11]

Another point to which attention may be drawn is that an expression like *daśa-varṣ-ābhiṣikta*, 'when I have been anointed ten years', seems to be correctly rendered in the Greek version of the Kandahār Graeco-Aramaic edict as 'ten years having passed since his coronation.' An expression like *aṣṭa-varṣ-ābhiṣikta* has, however, been translated in the Kandahār version of RE XIII as 'in the eighth year of his reign' which does not appear to be what Aśoka meant.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

CHAPTER III

MASKI VERSION OF MRE I

I. FINDSPOT AND DISCOVERY

The village of Maski lies in the Lingsugur Taluk of the Raichur District, Karnataka, about forty-six miles to the west-south-west of the town of Raichur, in latitude 15°57′ and longitude 76°45′. According to H. Krishna Sastri, "The masses of illiterate agriculturists pronounce it *Maśgi* or *Masigi*; the Brahmin classes called it *Maski*, and the Muhammadans *Masgi*."[1] A Maski inscription of Śaka 949 (1027 A.D.), belonging to the reign of the Later Cālukya king Jayasiṁha Jagadekamalla (1015-42 A.D.), and another record at the same place, belonging to the time of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa (*c.* 1197-1247 A.D.) mention the place as *rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṁgi*. Another epigraph of the reign of the said Cālukya king, found in the village, refers to the *Brahmapuri* (*i.e.* the Brāhmaṇa habitation) at Mosaṁgi. In two other inscriptions from Maski, belonging to the time of the Vijayanagara kings Acyutarāya (1529-42 A.D.) and Sadāśivarāya (*c.* 1542-70 A.D.), its name is quoted as *Mosage* which is stated to have been the headquarters of the Mosage district (*nāḍu*).[2] There is hardly any doubt that *Mosaṁgi* or *Mosage* of the Kannaḍa records, referred to above, is identical with *Musaṅgi* mentioned in certain Tamil inscriptions[3] as the field of battle where the Later Cālukya monarch Jayasiṁha Jagadekamalla was defeated by the Cola king Rājendra I (1012-44 A.D.).

The expression *rājadhāni piriya-Mosaṁgi* has been taken by Krishna Sastri to mean 'the royal residence of great Mosaṅgi'; but, strictly speaking, the word *rājadhānī* or *rājadhāni* is recognised in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa lexicons in the sense of 'a capital, royal city or metropolis' and not in that of 'a royal residence'. The description of Mosaṅgi as a *rājadhāni* reminds us of a Vemulavāḍa (Karimanagar District, A.P.) inscription[4] of 1083-84 A.D., in which *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Rājāditya, a feudatory of Cālukya Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127 A.D.), is stated to have been governing a portion of the Savalakhe (Sapādalakṣa) province together with the Cabbi-21000 district, in the present Nizamabad-Karimnagar region, from the *nelevīḍu* (Sanskrit *sthira-śibira*, 'standing camp', *i.e.*, headquarters)[5]

[1] Cf. Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. xxvi.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] S. *Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I, pp. 95 f.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 230.

[4] *Journ. Or. Res.*, Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 40.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 110-11; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 440-41. Cf. the *vijaya-skandhāvāras* whence the charters of the Pāla kings of Eastern India were issued (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 4). The word *skandhāvāra* (Kannada *viḍu*) originally meant 'a camp' but later also a *rājadhānī* or capital (*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 47). This modification in the meaning of the word is due to the fact that kings had often to live and hold court in camps for long periods of time.

of *rājadhāni*-Lembuḷavāḍe. The language of the record seems to suggest that Lembuḷavāḍe (modern Vemulavāḍa) was the *nelevīḍu* of the chief Rājāditya and not of his overlord. It is difficult to determine whether the place has been called *rājadhāni*-Lembuḷavāḍe because it was the capital of Rājāditya or because a house of Cālukya chiefs ruled from the same locality for a long time from the eighth to the tenth century.[6] Mosaṅgi may have been likewise called a *rājadhāni* either because it was the capital of some feudatories of the Later Cālukyas and the Yādavas or because a house of subordinate chiefs had its headquarters at that place in an earlier period. The silence of the Maski inscriptions of the Cālukya and Yādava times in regard to the existence of a local ruling house may go in support of the second alternative. In any case, there is no doubt that Maski was once the *rājadhāni*, 'capital', of a house of rulers.

However, the Maski inscription under study reveals the interesting fact that the village was one of the notable towns of South India as early as the third century B.C. This inscription, discovered on a rock near the village of Maski, purports to be a proclamation of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (*c*. 269-232 B.C.) for the guidance of his officials and subjects.

On the 27th of January 1915, C. Beadon, who was an engineer prospecting for gold in the Maski area on behalf of Messrs. Taylor and Sons, accidentally discovered traces of an old inscription on a natural boulder at the entrance of a spacious cave on the south-western slope, of the hill abutting on the village of Maski. The hill has been described as 'a typical South Indian granite outcrop some four hundred to four thousand and fifty feet high and a mile long, surrounded by wide stretches of cotton-soil land'. With the help of Bashiruddin, then First Talukdar of Raichur, Beadon succeeded in exposing to view seven lines of writing engraved on the rock and, with the assistance of L. Bishop of the Hutti Gold Mines, he prepared an eye-copy of the inscription, which was sent for examination to H. Krishna Sastri, then in charge of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. In the meantime, G. Yazdani, then Superintendent of Archaeology, Government of the Nizam of Hyderabad, visited Maski and, on examination, succeeded in tracing the eighth and last line of the epigraph. Krishna Sastri himself examined the inscription and prepared inked impressions of it about the middle of the year. His small monograph entitled *The New Aśokan Edict of Maski*, with Plates, was published by the Nizam's Government about the close of the same year as No. 1 of the Hyderabad Archaeological Series. Next year J. F. Fleet drew the attention of scholars to the inscription[7] and E. Senart examined the epigraph in detail[8] while E. Hultzsch re-edited the inscription first in German[9] and later again in his *Inscriptions of Aśoka*.[10]

Krishna Sastri describes the inscription and its findspot in the following words : "The cavern in which the inscribed boulder stands is formed of a huge rock resting at various

[6] N. Venkataramanayya, *The Cālukyas of L(V)emulavāḍa*, 1953, p. 12.
[7] *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1916, pp. 572 ff. ; see also L. Rice, *ibid.*, pp. 838-39.
[8] *Journ. As.*, Series XI, Tome VII, 1916, pp. 425-42.
[9] *Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges.*, Band LXX, pp. 539 ff.
[10] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, New Edition, 1925, pp. xxxiv, 174-75.

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points of its periphery on other smaller ones, some of which are partly buried in the gravelly soil below. The boulder which is a block of crystalline grey granite of irregular shape stands at the southern entrance into the cavern, with the writing facing inwards. The surface of the boulder has peeled off at various places, sometimes right up to the depth to which the letters were incised, and measures roughly 8 ft. 9 inches by 5 ft. At the right hand corner of the bottom, a piece of the boulder lies separated by a big crack which must have existed already at the time when the inscription was engraved on it, since the writing is not continued on that piece as otherwise it would have been. The lines are crooked and the letters vary in size, the largest being 4¾″ in height and the smallest 2″. The inscribed surface curves inwards as we get to the last lines of the inscription and hence, perhaps, the jaggedness and irregularity of the letters in this part of the record."

2. IMPORTANCE OF THE INSCRIPTION

The Maski inscription belongs to the class known as the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka and is a copy of MRE I. Before the one at Maski, versions of the same record had been discovered at the following places in different parts of India :

(1) Rūpnāth in the Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh, about fourteen miles to the west of the Sleemanabad Railway Station on the Jabalpur-Katni line ;

(2) Sahasrām, headquarters of a Sub-Division of the same name in the Shahabad (now Rohtas) District, Bihar ;

(3) Bairāṭ (lat. 27°27′, long. 76°14′), headquarters of a Tahsil of that name in the Jaipur District (old Jaipur State) of Rajasthan, about forty-two miles to the north-north-east of Jaipur city ;

(4) Śiddāpura (14°14′ N ; 76°51′ E) in the Molakalmuru Taluk of the Chitaldrug (now Chitradurga) District, Mysore (now in Karnataka) ;

(5) Brahmagiri within a mile to the east of Śiddāpura ;

(6) Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara about three miles to the north-west of Brahmagiri and two miles to the north of Śiddāpura.

These six versions were published together by Hultzsch along with the Maski copy in his *Corpus* volume in 1925. The following three versions were discovered during the next few years.

(7) Gavīmaṭh within a mile to the east of Kopbal (15°21′ N, 76°10′E) in the Raichur District of Karnataka ;

(8) Pālkīguṇḍu, a little above a mile to the west of Kopbal and nearly two miles from Gavīmaṭh ; and

(9) Eṟṟaguḍi (77°39′ E, 15°12′ N) in the Pattikonda Taluk of the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh, about eight miles to the north-west of Gooty in the Anantapur District of the same State, on the Gooty-Pattikonda road.

Nos. 7-8 were edited by R. L. Turner in his monograph entitled the *Gavimath and Palkigundu Inscriptions of Aśoka.*[11] The Eṟṟaguḍi version was published by several scholars in different periodicals.[12] As we shall see below, Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts (especially MRE I) have later been discovered at various other places in different parts of the country.

There are textual variations between any two versions of the Minor Rock Edict referred to above; but some of the southern copies may be classified into groups exhibiting slight differences in the language of the versions within each one of them. Thus there is great textual affinity among the Śiddāpura, Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara versions, all coming from an area within a radius of two miles round Śiddāpura in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore. The Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu copies, found within two miles from each other, appear similarly to follow almost an identical draft of the record. But of considerable importance in regard to the question of textual affinities and variations in the various copies of the Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka is the fact that, while we have two different edicts joined together in the southern versions such as those at Śiddāpura, Brahmagiri, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Eṟṟaguḍi (to which Rājula-Maṇḍagiri was added later), only the first one of these finds a place in the other versions like those at Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, Bairāṭ, Maski, Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīgundu (to which Gujarrā and several other places have now been added). This seems to be clear in spite of the unsatisfactory preservation and fragmentary nature of some of the versions.

Not only among the versions of the Minor Rock Edict but indeed among all Aśokan records so far published, the Maski inscription enjoys a position of paramount importance. Its interest lies in the fact that the Maurya emperor, who is called in his other epigraphs merely by the epithets or secondary names, *Devānāmpriya Priyadarśī Rājā,* i.e. 'the king who is the beloved of the gods, and looks upon all with love', is here mentioned by his personal name *Aśoka,* known formerly only from some literary works and a few later inscriptions,[13] together with the epithet *Devānāmpriya.* Among other old Aśokan records offering personal information about the king, the so-called Calcutta-Bairāṭ Minor Rock Inscription (not the Bairāṭ Minor Rock Edict forming one of the class referred to above) mentions king Priyadarśin (i.e., Aśoka) as *Māgadha,* the Magadhan (i.e., of the

[11] Published as No. 10 of the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series,* 1932.

[12] *Ind. Hist. Quart.,* Vol. VII, 1973, pp. 737-40; *ibid.,* Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 113-20; *ibid.,* Vol. XIII, 1937, pp. 132-36; *An. Rep. Arch. Sur. Ind.,* 1928-29 (Delhi, 1933), pp. 161-67 (especially pp. 166-67). See below.

[13] Buddhist tradition contained in the Pali works, the *Divyāvadāna,* Hiuen-tsang's *Si-yu-ki,* etc., gives the name as Aśoka. Cf. Malalasekera, *Dict.,* s.v.; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels,* Vol. II, p. 88. The same form of the name is also found in the Junāgaḍh inscription of 150 A.D. (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.,* Vol. I, 1965, p. 177) and in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (I. 17-20, 101). The recently discovered Salihundam stone inscription (*c.* second century A.D.) has it as Aśokaśrī which seems to stand for Śrī-Aśoka (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXI, pp. 87-88). The same name is found both as Aśoka and Aśokavardhana in the Purāṇas, as both Aśoka and Aśokavarman in certain Pallava inscriptions, and as Dharmāśoka in the Sārnāth inscription of the Gāhaḍavāla queen Kumāradevī. See Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text,* etc., pp. 27-28; Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas,* pp. 157, 377 and note; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, pp. 319 ff. The recently discovered Gujarrā version of the Minor Rock Edict mentions the king as Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśī Aśokarāja as we shall see below.

Magadha country). This refers to the home territory of the Maurya emperors, which comprised the Patna-Gaya region of South Bihar with its capital originally at Girivraja or Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir in the Patna District) and later at Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna).[14] The so-called Queen's Edict on the Allahabad pillar (originally from Kauśāmbī), which was also published long ago, mentions Aśoka's second queen Kāruvākī or Cāruvākī and her son Tīvara. Similar information supplied by recently discovered inscriptions will be discussed in some of the later sections.

An interesting fact associated with the discovery of the Maski inscription under study is the speculation it inspired in regard to the location of Suvarṇagiri which was apparently the headquarters of one of the southern provinces of Aśoka's empire.[15] The Śiddāpura and Brahmagiri versions of the Minor Rock Edict and obviously also the fragmentary Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara copy were issued by Aśoka to the *Mahāmātras* (a class of high administrative officers) of Isila (apparently Śiddāpura itself) through the *Ārya-putra* (probably the king's son[16] who was a provincial viceroy) and the *Mahāmātras* of Suvarṇagiri. This reminds us of the facts that the so-called first and second Separate Rock Edicts[17] at Dhauli (Puri District, Orissa) were issued by the Maurya king respectively to the *Mahāmātra-nagara-vyavahārakas* (i.e., *Mahāmātras* who were the judicial officers of the city) at Tosalī (modern Dhauli, the ancient capital of Kaliṅga) and to the *Kumāra* (i.e., prince obviously employed as a provincial viceroy) and the *Mahāmātras* at Tosalī, while the corresponding Edicts at Jaugaḍa (Ganjam District, Orissa) were similarly issued respectively to the *Mahāmātra-nagara-vyavahārakas* at Samāpā (near Jaugaḍa) and to the *Mahāmātras* at Samāpā. It appears that a prince of the royal blood (*Kumāra*) was governing the Kaliṅga country, annexed to the Maurya empire by Aśoka himself, with his headquarters at Tosalī, while another prince who was probably a son of the emperor (*Ārya-putra*) was in charge of the province comprising the southern districts of the Maurya dominions in-

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[14] According to early European writers, the Nandas, who ruled from Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra), were primarily the kings of the Prasii and the Gangaridae. The Prasii, with their headquarters at Pāṭaliputra whence the Mauryas also ruled, are the Prācyas of Indian literature. Prācya was, however, the general name of the East Indian peoples living to the east of Allahabad. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (paragraph 63) and Ptolemy's *Geography* (VII. 1.18) show that the Gangaridae lived on the lower course of the Ganges and were apparently named after the river. The city of Ganga in the land of the said people seems to have been situated near the junction of the Bhāgīrathī and the Bay of Bengal, and its memory is probably preserved by the name of Gaṅgāsāgara, the most celebrated *tīrtha* of Eastern India at least from the age of the Guptas. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 36-37) shows that the Indian name of the Gangaridae was *Vaṅga*. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med Ind.*, 1971, pp. 213 ff. Why the Gangaridae or Vaṅga people are mentioned separately as a people of the home province of the Nandas in spite of the fact that they were Prācyas themselves is difficult to say; but they may have hailed from the deltaic region of Bengal.

[15] Wide areas of South India were included in Aśoka's empire. He must have inherited them from his father as the only conquest claimed by him is that of the Kaliṅga country. It is often believed that South India was annexed to the Magadha empire either by Chandragupta or by Bindusāra, who were respectively the grandfather and father of Aśoka. Cf. *Political History of Ancient India*, 1938, pp. 219-20; *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 17. But there is some evidence to show that considerable parts of South India were included in the empire of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas on the throne of Pāṭaliputra (*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 216 ff.).

[16] Cf. *Vien. Or. Journ.*, Vol. XII, pp. 75 f.

[17] We call the second and first Separate Edicts Rock Edicts XV and XVI. See Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, 1975, pp. 54 ff.

cluding the Śiddāpura region, with his head-quarters at Suvarṇagiri. The concluding part of the first Separate Rock Edict both at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa shows that two other viceregal headquarters of Aśoka's empire were Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh) and Takṣaśilā (Taxila in the Rawalpindi District, Pakistan), of which at least the former, if not both of them, was under a *Kumāra* or prince of the royal blood.[18]

Now, of these viceregal headquarters of Aśoka's empire, Suvarṇagiri, mentioned in the three Chitaldrug (Chitradurga) versions of the Minor Rock Edict apparently as the chief city of a southern province, has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Fleet's suggestion[19] that the said three copies of the edict were issued by Aśoka himself from Suvarṇagiri, and that the city has to be identified with modern Soṇagiri near Rājgīr in the Patna District, Bihar, is unconvincing. After the discovery of the Maski inscription, Krishna Sastri located Suvarṇagiri somewhere in the Maski area and observed, "If Bühler is right in thinking that Suvarṇagiri has to be looked for in the direction of the Western Ghats,[20] it is not unlikely that Maski, which is nearer to these than Śiddāpura, was included in the district of Suvarṇagiri . . . . the country shows clear traces of its having been once in very remote times the most important gold-working centre." The suggestion was apparently inspired not only by the name *Suvarṇagiri*, 'the golden rock', but also by the fact that Maski was then the only other find spot of an Aśokan record in the south besides ancient Isila in the Śiddāpura area. However, the fact is that Suvarṇagiri was the name of a city and not of a district. Hultzsch therefore identified Suvarṇagiri with modern Kanakagiri (literally, 'the golden mount'), south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara.[21] Maski, however, is no longer the only findspot of Aśokan records in the south outside the Śiddāpura region.

H. C. Raychaudhuri[22] identified Suvarṇagiri with the town of Songir in the Dhulia Taluk of the West Khandesh District (Maharashtra) since the inscriptions of the Later Mauryas, who were probably descendants of the southern viceroys of the Maurya emperors, were found at Vada in the north of the Thana District and at Waghli in the West Khandesh District,[23] but Fleet was inclined to reject the claim of Songir on the ground that it is a place 'of no known ancient importance'.[24]

Of all the findspots of Aśokan edicts in Southern India, Eṟṟaguḍi in the Karnool District, A.P., must have been the most important place in the Maurya age, since only at this place we have a version of the more important Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka side by side with the Minor Rock Edicts I-II. Thus Suvarṇagiri may have stood in the vici-

[18] The Junāgaḍh inscription of Śaka 72 (150 A.D.), referred to above, suggests that a *Yavana-rāja* (*i.e.*, Greek ruler) named Tuṣāspha was governing Surāṣṭra apparently with his headquarters at Girinagara (modern Junāgaḍh) on behalf of the Maurya emperor Aśoka. It is not known whether the governor of Girinagara was subordinate to the Maurya viceroy at Ujjayinī.

[19] *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 998.

[20] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 234 ff.

[21] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 177, note 5.

[22] *Pol. His. Anc. Ind.*, 1950, p. 311, note.

[23] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 136 ; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 14, 284.

[24] *JRAS*, 1916, p. 575.

nity of Eṟṟaguḍi, and C. R. Krishnamacharlu's suggestion that the village of Jonnagiri adjoining Eṟṟaguḍi represents ancient Suvarṇagiri[25] may be accepted. *Jonnagiri* (pronounced *Zonnagiri*) seems to be a Telugu modification of Prakrit-Pali *Soṇṇagiri* = Sanskrit *Suvarṇagiri* under the influence of the Telugu word *jonna* (pronounced *zonna*) meaning 'millet'.

The findspots of Aśoka's records in South India show that the regions around the Chitaldrug (Chitradurga) and Karnool Districts formed integral parts of his empire; but they do not fully enlighten us on the question of the southern limit of Aśoka's empire although the two questions have often been confused.[26] According to Aśoka's own records, there lay to the south of his empire the independent principalities ruled by the Colas (in the modern Tanjavur-Tiruchirapalli region), the Pāṇḍyas (in the Madurai-Ramanathapuram Tirunelveli area) and the Kerala-putra[27] (the Kerala king probably in the southern part of the Malayalam-speaking area) and the Sātiya-putra (probably in the northern part of the Malayalam-speaking area and the adjoining regions). Although the exact boundaries of these states are unknown, tradition suggests that the southern limit of Aśoka's empire lay far to the south of the actual findspots of his records at least in the east coast of South India.

According to the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century, there was in his time a Stūpa at Kāñcīpura, which was believed to have been built by the ancient monarch Aśoka.[28] The mythical portion of the genealogy in the later inscriptions of the Pallavas of Kāñcī mentions among their ancestors one Aśoka or Aśokavarman who has been regarded as 'a modification of the ancient Maurya king Aśoka'.[29] These facts appear to suggest the inclusion of Kāñcīpura in Aśoka's empire. Thus the southern boundary of the Maurya dominions in the days of Aśoka seems to have been the river Kāverī.

III. LANGUAGE AND GRAMMAR

1. *Characteristic of the Language*

The language of Minor Rock Edict I found in the northern areas of India is the so-called Magadhan Prakrit noticed in Aśoka's Pillar Edicts, the Rock Edicts at

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[25] *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, Madras, 1914, p. 145.

[26] See D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., pp. 27-29, 48; cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 78.

[27] Ptolemy's *Geography* (VII. 1. 86), written about the middle of the second century A.D., mentions 'Karoura, the capital city of Kerobothros'. *Kerobothros* (also mentioned by Pliny and the author of the *Periplus*, both of whom flourished in the first century A.D.) is no doubt a Greek modification of *Kēra(Cera)putra* or *Keralaputra*. The most reasonable view about the location of the capital city seems to be Vañji. Vañci or Karūr (Greek *Karoura*), mentioned in the Saṅgam literature as the ancient capital of the Cera or Kerala kingdom, 'represented by the deserted village of Tiru-Karur, high up the Periyar, about 28 miles NNE of Cochin', and 'Tiruvanchikalam (a suburb of Cranganore, lat. 10° 13', long. 76° 14') near the mouth of the Periyar, was a later capital' (V. A. Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, 1924, p. 477).

[28] See S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 230.

[29] Cf. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 40, 377.

Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, the Major Rock Edicts at Eṟṟaguḍi and the Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions. The principal characteristics of the dialect are the representation of _ra_ in Sanskrit words by _la_ and of _śa_ and _ṣa_ by _sa_. The texts of Minor Rock Edict I, as found in the central region of the country, and the texts of MRE I and II discovered in the South, however, exhibit different traits. The southern as well as many of the central versions do not show the change of Sanskrit _ra_ to _la_ while a few of the central texts exhibit both the characteristics in that they retain Sanskrit _ra_ in some cases but change it to _la_ in others. Gujarrā in the Datia District, Madhya Pradesh, is the northernmost place where we notice the retention of _ra_; but Gujarrā as well as Rūpnāth (Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh) and Maski (Raichur District, Karnataka) exhibit the retention of Sanskrit _ra_ in some cases, but its modification to _la_ in others. Maski is thus the southernmost place showing the change of _ra_ to _la_.

We have the use of _śa_ at Maski in _Bu[dhu]-śake_ in line 1. This is rarely noticed in the MRE dialect, e.g. in the word _śvage_ for Sanskrit _svarge_ in the Bairāṭ version. In the same line at Maski, Hultzsch was inclined to read _ṣa_ in _vaṣāni_; but the reading of the word seems to be _vasāni_. There is no case in the MRE texts showing the modification of Sanskrit _la_ to _ra_ as we find in the Sopara Text of RE IX.

2. _Vowels_

_a_ < _ṛi_: _dakhitaviya_ *_dṛkṣitavya_ = _draṣṭavya_ from *_dṛkṣati_ (cf. _īdṛkṣa_, etc.) according to Pischel.[20] The _akṣara tṛ_ is supposed to be lost in _aḍhatiya_ = Pali _aḍḍhatiya_ < Sanskrit _ardhatṛtīya_, due to haplology. The word may have been pronounced _aḍḍhatiyya_ = Prakrit _aḍḍhaījja_, Pali _aḍḍhateyya_, which may suggest an original like *_ardhatṛtīya_ (cf. Pali _ekachcha_).

_ā_ < _a_ : _cā_ < _ca_.

_i_ < _ya_ : _vaḍhisiti_ < *_vardhiṣyati_. The word _iya_ < _ayam_ is believed to be due to the influence of oblique forms like _imam_.

_i_ is shortened in _misibhūta_ < _miśrībhūta_. Cf. _aṁ_ < _ām_ in _devānaṁ_ < _devānām_; _i_ < _īm_ in _dāni_ < _idānīm_.

Initial vowels are dropped in _ti_ < _iti_, _dāni_ < _idānīm_, _pi_ < _api_, _va_ < _eva_, _sumi_ < _asmi_. Some scholars think that _sumi_ is "not a phonetic descendant of _asmi_ but a form dependent on an analogical recreation *_smi_ or possibly *_sami_ after _santi_."

_e_ < _as_ = _aḥ_ : _pure_ < _puras_; _ve_ < _vaḥ_. Cf. _se_ < _saḥ_ _aṭhe_ < _arthaḥ_, _sake_ < °_sakaḥ_ or _śakyaḥ_, _upagate_ < _upagataḥ_, _uḍālake_ < _udārakaḥ_, _khudake_ < _kṣudrakaḥ_. This final _e_ is phonetically derived from final _o_. Cf. Sanskrit _saḥ_ = Pali _so_, _etc_.

_e_ < _am_ : _dakhitaviye_ < *_dṛkṣitavyam_ = _draṣṭavyam_ (neuter), _sātireke_ < _sātirekam_; but _am_ is retained in _saṁgham_ (masculine). It is often believed that the modification of _am_ to _e_ in the neuter words is due to the replacement of nominative neuter by

[20] Pischel, _Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen_, § 554.

masculine. This is because *am* is found retained in the original neuter forms (stereotyped as adverb) such as *diyaḍhiyaṁ* < *°dvyardhyam.*

The modification of *ai* to *e* is traced in forms like *adhigatave.* Both the forms *adhigantave* and *adhigantavai* are expected in the early Vedic language.

An auxiliary vowel developed within a group is *i* in *vataviya* < *vaktavya* and *u* in *sumi* < *asmi.*

Hultzsch would find a case of *sandhi* ($a+a = a$) in *diyaḍhiya*; but this expression does not appear to stand for Sanskrit *dvik-ārdhya.*

3. *Consonants*

Some scholars notice a case of the modification of intervocal *k* to *y* in *diyaḍhiya* which is believed to stand for Sanskrit *dvik-ārdhya.* They also draw our attention to the form *diyāḍhiya* in the Sahasrām version. But *diyaḍhiya* probably stands for *°dvyardhya.* Turner points out that "*dvikārdha,* besides raising phonetic difficulties, is semasiologically incorrect." He thinks that an original *°dviy-ārdha* would explain the *ā* in the Sahasrām text, "if this reading is correct". *Diyaḍha* is Hindi *deḍh*, Bengali *deḍ.*

Dental is lingualised in *uḍāla* = Pali *uḷāra* < Sanskrit *udāra*; but the dental nasal is used for the lingual in *vasāni* < *varṣāṇi, khudakena* < *kṣudrakeṇa.*

y is elided at the beginning of *aṁ* = *yat.*

r is retained in *sātireke* < *sātirekam* and *pure* < *puras*, but changed to *l* in *uḍālake* < *udārakaḥ* and *kalaṁtaṁ* < *kurvan* = *kurvantaḥ.*

ś and *ṣ* are generally changed to *s*; but *ś* is employed in *śake* which stands for either *°sakaḥ* or *śākyaḥ.*

h is prefixed in *hevaṁ* < *evam.*

The *anusvāra* is omitted after *a* in *adhigatave* < *adhigaṁtave* = *adhigantum,* but retained in *jaṁbu* = *jambu,* etc.

4. *Consonant Groups*

k = *kk* < *ky* : *saka* < *śakya.* Cf. *s* = *ss* < *ṣy* in *vadhisiti °vardhiṣyati* ; *sa* = *ssa* *ṣy* in *vaḍhisiti °vardhiṣyati* ; *sa* = *ssa* < *sya* in *°piyasa* < *°priyasya, asokasa* < *aśokasya* ; *ḍhiya* < *rdhy* in *diyaḍhiya* < *°dvyardhya* ; and *viy* < *vy* in *vataviya* < *vaktavya.*

kh < *kṣ* : *khudaka* < *kṣudraka.*

kh = *kkh* < *kṣ* : *dakhitaviya* < *°dṛkṣitavya* = *draṣṭavya.*

ṭh = *ṭṭh* < *rth* : *aṭha* < *artha.*

ḍh = *ḍḍh* < *rdha* : *aḍhatiya* < *ardhatṛtīya* ; *vaḍhisiti* < *°vardhiṣyati.*

t = *tt* < *kt* : *vataviya* < *vaktavya.*

d = *dd* < *dr* : *khudaka* < *kṣudraka*; *bhadaka* < *bhadraka*.

d < *dy* : *diyaḍhiya* < **dvyardhya*.

p < *pr* : *piya* < *priya*.

ṁm = *mm* < *rm* : *dhaṁma* < *dharma*.

viy < *vy* : *vataviya* < *vaktavya*.

s = *ss* < *rṣa* : *vasa* < *vraṣa*.

s = *ss* < *sra* : *misibhūta* < *miśrībhūta*.

si = *siy* or *ss* < *ṣy* : *vaḍhisiti* < **vardhiṣyati*.

s = *ss* < *sm* : *dīpasi* < **dvīpasmin* = *dvīpe*.

s = *ss* < *sy* : °*piyasa* < °*priyasya*; *asokasa* < *aśokasya*.

sum < *sm* : *sumi* < *asmi*.

5. *Declension*

(a) Bases in *a*: Nominative Masculine Singular—*sake* < °*sakaḥ* or *śakyaḥ*; *aṭhe* < *arthaḥ*; *khudake* < *kṣudrakaḥ*; *uḍālake* < *udārakaḥ*; *bhadake* < *bhadrakaḥ*. Plural—*devā* < *devāḥ*; °*bhūtā* < °*bhūtāḥ*, etc.

Accusative Masculine Singular—*saṁghaṁ* < *saṅgham*.

Instrumental Masculine Singular—*khudakena* < *kṣudrakeṇa*; *dhaṁmayutena* < *dharmayutena*.

Genitive Masculine Singular—°*piyasa* < °*priyasya*, *asokasa* < *aśokasya*; Plural—*devānaṁ* < *devānām*.

Nominative Neuter Singular—*dakhitaviye* < * *dṛkṣitavyam* = *draṣṭavyam*; Plural—*vasāni* < *varṣāṇi*.

Locative Neuter Singular—*dīpasi* < **dvīpasmin* = *dvīpe*.

(b) Base in *at* : Nominative (absolute) Masculine Singular (used for Plural)—*kalaṁtaṁ* < *kurvan* (for *kurvantaḥ*).

(c) Pronoun of the Second Person: Accusative, Dative or Genitive Plural (used for Nominative) *ve* < *vaḥ* (used for *yūyam*).

Pronoun of the Third Person: base *tad*: Nominative masculine Singular—*se* < *saḥ*; Plural—*te*.

Base *idam* : Nominative Masculine Singular—*iya* < *ayam*; Accusative—*ima* < *imam*.

Base *yat*: Accusative Neuter Singular—*aṁ* < *yat* (stereotyped as adverb).

(d) Numerals: *aḍhatiyāni*, *diyaḍhiyaṁ* (stereotyped as adverb).

(e) Indeclinables: *ti* < *iti*, *dāni* < *idānīm*, *pi* < *api*, *va* < *eva*, etc.

6. *Conjugation*

Indicative: First Person Singular—*sumi* <*asmi*.

Optative: Third Person Singular—*adhigacheyā* < **adhigaccheyāt* = *adhigacchet*.

Aorist: Third Person Plural—*husu* < **abhūṣuḥ* = *abhūvan*.

Future: Third Person Singular—*vaḍhisiti* < **vardhiṣyati* = *vardhiṣyate*.

Participles: Present Active—*kalaṁtaṁ* (Nominative Masculine Singular = *kurvan*, but used as Plural = *kurvantaḥ*); Past Passive—°*bhūta*, *upagata*; Future Passive in *tavya* —*dakhitaviya* < **dṛkṣitavya* = *draṣṭavya*; in *ya*—*saka* < *śakya*.

Infinitive: *aḍhigatave* < *adhigantave* (Vedic) = *adhigantum*.

IV. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

TEXT[1]

1. [De]v[ā]na[ṁ]piyasa[2] Aso[ka]sa (/*). . . .[3] [a]ḍha[ti]-
2. . . . . [ni][4] vasān[i][5]/aṁ[6] sum[i] Bu[dhu]śake[7] (/*) . . . . ti[re][8] . . . .

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[1] From published facsimiles.

[2] The vowel mark of *vā* and the *anusvāra* of *naṁ* are not clear on the impressions.

[3] There is space for about six or seven *akṣaras* which are completely lost. Senart fills up the gap by *vacanena* (/°) *adhikāni*. Hultzsch suggests the restoration *sāvane* (/°) *adhikāni* or *sāsane adhikāni*. However, the reading seems to have been *Asokasa* (/°) *sātirekāni*. In the Gujarrā version a word is understood after *Asokarājasa*. This gives the edict the look of a communication from the emperor to the local officials.

[4] Read *aḍhatiyāni*.

[5] Hultzsch reads *vaṣāni*.

[6] Krishna Sastri reads here *yaṁ*. The *daṇḍa* is superfluous (see footnote on *iya* in line 4 below). There are many such unnecessary *daṇḍas* in the Sahasrām version.

[7] An unnecessary *anusvāra*-like mark is seen after *bu*. Krishna Sastri reads *buṁpāśake*, regarded as a mistake for *upāsake* and remarks that "the letter *pā* appears to have been corrected from some other." It appears, however, that the engraver had originally made *pā* which was later changed to *dhu*. Senart prefers *upāsake* but thinks that the writer wavered between *upāsake* (Sanskrit *upāsakaḥ*) and *Budhupāsake* (Sanskrit *Buddhopāsakaḥ*). According to Hultzsch, originally *upā* of *upāsake* had been written (as in the Sahasrām, Bairāt and Śiddāpura versions) and later the two letters were changed to *Budha*, to which *Śake*=*Śake* of the Rūpnāth version= Sanskrit *Śākyaḥ*, 'a Buddhist', was added. The considerable space between *bu* and the following letter appears to suggest that *buṁ* and not *bu* was originally engraved. The medial *u* mark of *dhu*, incised over an original *pā*, has also to be accounted for. It is not impossible that the intended reading was *Buṁdh-upāsake* or *Budh-upāsake*. The writer made *pā* in the place of *dhu*; but, when the mistake was noticed and rectified by changing it to *dhu*, he forgot to incise *pā* again after *dhu*. If such was the case, *śa* has to be regarded as a scribal error for *sa*.

[8] There is space for about six letters before *ti* and for about two letters after *re*. Read *saṁvachare sātireke aṁ*. Senart prefers *no cu bāḍhaṁ pakaṁte* (/°) *sātireke saṁvachare aṁ*; but the space seems to be too small for so many letters.

3. . . . . [m]i[1] [sa]ṁghaṁ [upa]gate . . .[2] [ca sumi] u[pa]gat[e] (/*) pure[3] Jambu-

4. . . . . s[i][4] . . . .[5] [husu] te [dāni] misibhūtā (/*) iya[6] aṭhe khuda-

5. ke[na] pi[7] dhama-yu[tena] sake adhigatave (/*) na hevaṁ dakhitaviye [uḍā]-

6. lake va ima adhigacheyā ti (/*) [khudak]e ca [uḍā]lake ca vata-

7. vi[yā] hevaṁ ve kalaṁta[ṁ] bha[dake se] . .[8] . . tik[e][9] ca va[ḍhi]-

8. siti cā diya[ḍhi]ya[ṁ] h[e]va . . . .[10] (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. [देवानं]पियस असो[क]स (/*) [सातिरेकानि*] [अ]ढ[ति](2)[या*][नि] वसा[नि] अं सु[मि] बु-[धु]शके (पासके) (/*) [संवछरे*] [सा*]ति[रे][के*] [अं*] (3) [सु*][मि] [सं]घं [उप]गते [उठानं*] [च सुमि] उ[प]ग[ते] (/*) पुरे जंबु (4)[दीप*][सि] [ये अमिसा देवा*] [हुसु] ते [दानि] मिसिभूता (/*) इय अठे खुद(5)के-[न] पि धम-यु[तेन] सके अधिगतवे (/*) न हेवं दखितविये [उडा](6)लके व इम अधिगछेया ति (/*) [खुदके] च [उडा]लके च वत(7)वि[या] हेवं वे कलं[तं] भ[दके] [से] [अठे*] [चिलठि*]ति[के] च व[ढि](8)सिति चा दिय-[ढियं] [हेवं] [ति*] (//*)

RESTORED TEXT

A. Devānaṁpiyasa Asokasa/[11]

B. sātirekāni aḍhatiyāni vasāni aṁ sumi Budhupāsake/[12]

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[1] Read *sumi*.

[2] There is space here for two or three letters which Krishna Sastri and Senart restore as *bāḍhaṁ* and Hultzsch as *uṭhānaṁ*. Hultzsch's suggestion seems to be better for, in that case, the passage would mean the same thing as *bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte* (Sanskrit *bāḍhaṁ ca mayā prakrāntam*) in the Brahmagiri and other versions. But the other suggestion also suits the context.

[3] This form is used in Pali and Ardhamāgadhī. Cf. *pule* in the Kālsī Rock Edict I, line 3.

[4] Read *dīpasi*.

[5] There is space here for five or six letters. Read *ye amisā devā*. P. Meile thinks that, between *si* and *dā*, there is space only for 7 or 8 *akṣaras* (and not for nine *akṣaras* as assumed above) and suggests the reading *ye amisā devehi te* (*Journ. As.*, Tome CCXXXVII, 1949, pp. 209-10). But the letters of the inscription are not of a uniform size.

[6] There seems to be an unnecessary *daṇḍa* after *iya*. An *anusvāra* may have also been incised after *ya*.

[7] Krishna Sastri reads *hi*.

[8] After *bhadake*, Krishna Sastri reads *ṭheti*. Senart and Hultzsch are inclined to read the two letters after *se* as *aṭhe* which suits the context. Senart, however, prefers *kalaṁtānaṁ iyaṁ a aṭhe siyā*.

[9] Read *cilaṭhitike*.

[10] Krishna Sastri reads *hesati* and Senart *vaḍhisiti*. Hultzsch suggests *hevaṁ ti* which may be the reading intended. Senart does not read the possible *anusvāra* in *diyaḍhiyaṁ*.

[11] SANSKRIT: *Devānāmpriyasya Aśokasya [śrāvaṇam]/*

[12] SANSKRIT: *sātirekāṇi (=sādhikāni) ardhatṛtīyāni varṣāṇi (=sārdhe dve varṣe) yat [aham] asmi Buddh-opāsakaḥ [no (=na) tu khalu ahaṁ bāḍhaṁ prakrāntaḥ (=dharm-odyamī) [abhūvam ekaṁ saṁvatsaram]/*

C. saṁvachare sātireke aṁ sumi Saṁghaṁ upagate uṭhānaṁ ca sumi upagate/[1]

D. pure Jambu-dīpasi ye amisā devā husu te dāni misibhūtā/[2]

E. iya aṭhe khudakena pi dhaṁma-yutena sake adhigatave/[3]

F. na hevaṁ dakhitaviye uḍālake va ima adhigacheyā ti/[4]

G. khudake ca uḍālake ca vataviyā— "hevaṁ ve kalaṁtaṁ bhadake se aṭhe cila-ṭhitike ca vaḍhisiti cā diyaḍhiyaṁ hevaṁ" ti/[5]

TRANSLATION

A. [This is the proclamation] of Devānāmpriya Aśoka :

B. "[It is] more than two years and a half that I am a lay follower of the Buddha.

C. "[It is again] more than a year [now] that I am devotedly attached to the Buddhist Church and am devoted to exertion.

D. "In Jambu-dvīpa those gods, who were formerly unmingled [with men], have now become mingled [with them].

E. "This object can be achieved even by a poor man [if he is] devoted to Dharma.

F. "It is not to be viewed thus : 'The rich man alone can achieve this [object].'

G. "The poor man and the rich man are [both] to be told : 'If you act in this manner, this blessed achievement [will] last for a long time and will in this way increase to one and half times.' "

V. COMMENTARY

Section A. What follows is a declaration of the Maurya emperor Aśoka, which was meant primarily for the guidance of his subjects, both poor and rich, although it was apparently addressed to officers employed in different parts of the empire (see notes on Sections E, F and G below). The other versions have an additional sentence indicating that the proclamation was meant also for the *antas*. The meaning of the word *anta* is

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[1] SANSKRIT: *saṁvatsaraṁ sātirekaṁ (=sādhikaṁ) yat [aham] asmi Saṅgham upagataḥ (=Bauddha-Bhikṣu-saṅghaṁ gataḥ= °saṅghena saṅgataḥ) utthānaṁ ca [aham] asmi upagataḥ (=dharmodyamena ca ahaṁ saṅgataḥ=dharmodyamaḥ ca mayā labdhaḥ)/*

[2] SANSKRIT: *puraḥ (=purā) Jambu-dvīpe ye [manuṣyaiḥ] amiśrāḥ devāḥ abhūvan, te idānīṁ [manuṣyaiḥ] miśrībhūtāḥ (=dharma-hīnatayā ye manusyāḥ purā devaiḥ amiśrāḥ [=sambandha-hīnāḥ] abhūvan te adhunā mama = Aśokasya dharma-pracārāt dhārmikāḥ santaḥ devaiḥ miśritāḥ [=sambandhavantaḥ=devaiḥ saha vāsa-yogyāḥ sañjātāḥ])/*

[3] SANSKRIT: *ayam arthaḥ (=viṣayaḥ = dharma-pracārāt manuṣyāṇāṁ deva-sahavāsa-yogyatā-karaṇa-rūpa-phalaṁ) kṣudrakeṇa (=nirdhanena) api dharma-yutena (=dhārmikeṇa) śakyaḥ adhigantuṁ [na kevalaṁ asmābhiḥ= Aśok-ādibhiḥ dhanavadbhiḥ narapatibhiḥ]/*

[4] SANSKRIT: *na evaṁ draṣṭavyaṁ (=lakṣitavyaṁ)—"udārakaḥ (=dhanavān) eva idam [arthaṁ=viṣyaṁ=phalam] adhigacchet (=sādhayet)"* iti/

[5] SANSKRIT: *kṣudrakaḥ ca udārakaḥ ca [yuṣmābhiḥ=rājapuruṣaiḥ] vaktavyau—"evaṁ °vaḥ kurvan (=yūyaṁ kurvantaḥ=yuṣmāsu kurvatsu) bhadrakaḥ (=maṅgal-āvahaḥ) saḥ arthaḥ (=viṣayaḥ=phalaṁ) cira-sthitikaḥ (=cira-sthāyī) ca [bhaviṣyati] vardhiṣyate ca dvyardhaṁ (=s-ārdh-aika-guṇam) evam" iti/*

clear from Rock Edicts II and XIII. It has been used as a synonym of *pratyanta* and in the sense of both 'a bordering country or kingdom' and 'the people of a bordering country or kingdom'. The second of these two meanings is applicable in the present case. According to Rock Edicts II and XIII, the *antas* were the Greek kingdoms of Western Asia, Northern Africa and Europe as well as the Dravidian states of the Far South of India together with Tāmraparṇī or Ceylon (Sri Lanka).[1] The absence of any reference to the people dwelling in the countries bordering the Maurya empire in the Maski version cannot be explained satisfactorily. But similar omissions of sentences are also noticed in some of the other versions of the Edict.

An additional sentence at the beginning of the Chitaldrug (Chitradurga) versions of the Edict shows that the Imperial proclamation was received by the *Ārya-putra* (probably the emperor's son employed as a provincial governor) and the *Mahāmātras* (administrative officers) stationed at Suvarṇagiri and that from Suvarṇagiri it was conveyed to the *Mahāmātras* serving at Isila. The sentence gives the said versions the look of a communication addressed by the *Ārya-putra* and the *Mahāmātras* of Suvarṇagiri to the *Mahāmātras* of Isila. This nature of the edict is also suggested by the beginning of the Maski and a few other versions.

The word *Mahāmātra,* used in early Indian epigraphic and literary records, found its way into Greek vocabulary. Hesychius, a celebrated lexicographer of the third century A.D., explains the Indian loan-word *Mamátrai* (i.e. *Mahāmātra*) as *hoi stratēgoi par' Indois,* i.e., 'the commanders or rulers among Indians.'[2] The Greek word *Stratēgos,* equivalent to Sanskrit *Senāpati,* is similarly found in the seense of a provincial governor or viceroy.[3]

Sections B and C. There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars in regard to the interpretation of these two sentences. It has been suggested by some that Aśoka speaks here of two different stages of his *upāsakatva,* the first, not characterised by any zeal on his part for the propagation of Dharma, covering more than two years and a half, and the second, when he was fully exerting himself, lasting for a little over one year. This interpretation would suggest that the period of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* had lasted till the time when the present Edict was issued for 'more than two and half years' plus 'more than a year,' that is to say, for nearly four years in all. This theory is the result of an eagerness to reconcile the evidence of the Edict with the tradition in the Ceylonese chronicles that Aśoka's coronation was delayed by four years. But the Present Tense is *sumi*=Sanskrit *asmi* in Section B as well as in the corresponding section of the other versions shows that, at the time the proclamation was made, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* only for 'more than two years and a half'. The period of a little above one year, marked

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[1] In the Separate Rock Edict II at Dhauli (line 4) and Jaugaḍa (lines 4-5) reference is specially made to *avijita* (unconquered) *antas.* This may suggest that there were some peoples in certain parts of India that were not completely subdued by the Maurya emperors although they could hardly have been quite free from the latter's political influence. They were possibly subordinate allies of the Mauryas.

[2] *Cf. Ind. Cult.,* Vol. VIII, p. 408.

[3] Cf. *Camb. Hist. Ind.,* Vol I, p. 577 ; *The Age of Imperial Unity,* ed. Majumdar, p. 119.

by vigorous action, undertaken by the Maurya emperor and referred to in Section C, was therefore certainly included in the period of more than two and half years mentioned in Section B.

There can hardly be any question of a confusion of the Present Tense with the Past in this case in view of the fact that, in the same context, the Chitaldrug (Chitradurga) and Erragudi versions actually use the Past Tense (Aorist) to indicate a past event side by side with the one in the Present referred to above : (a) *adhikāni ardhatṛtīyāni varṣāṇi yat aham upāsakaḥ* [*asmi*], *no tu khalu* [*ahaṁ*] *bāḍhaṁ prakrāntaḥ abhūvam ekaṁ saṁvatsaram*, (b) *adhikāni* [*ardhatṛtīyāni varṣāṇi*] *yat aham upāsakaḥ* [*asmi*], *no tu khalu* [*aham*] *ekaṁ saṁvatsaraṁ prakrāntaḥ abhūvam*, "I am a lay follower [of the Buddha] for more than two years and a half ; but indeed I *was* not zealous (or, exceptionally zealous) for one year [*at the beginning*]."

That the period of Aśoka's *upāsakatva*, immediately preceding the proclamation, covered a little less than three years and not nearly four years is clear from the language of the Chitaldrug (Chitradurga) and other versions which definitely mention the duration of the first stage of the *upāsakatva*, when the Maurya emperor was not zealous in the propagation of Dharma, to have been one year only. A study of all the versions of the Edict together leaves no room for doubt : (1) that the earlier stage of Aśoka's *upāsakatva*, not characterized by vigorous exertion on his part, lasted for one year, (2) that the second stage, when he was zealously exerting himself, lasted for more than a year, and (3) that the two periods together covered more than two years and a half.

The real nature of Aśoka's relation with the Buddhist Church during the period of more than a year, which was marked by his exertion in regard to the propagation of Dharma, has been the subject of controversy among scholars. Indeed, it is not easy to determine it precisely from the words *upagata*=*upeta*=*upayāta*=*yāta* used in this connection in different versions of the Edict. The Maski version seems to use the word *upagata* in relation to both *saṅgha* (Buddhist Church) and *utthāna* (exertion or vigorous action). There is little doubt that Aśoka's *upagamana* with reference to *utthāna* means 'undertaking or addicting oneself to'.[1] It is difficult to believe that the same word *upagata* has been used here in the same sentence in one sense in relation to *utthāna* and in an entirely different sense with reference to *saṅgha*. We are therefore inclined to think that Aśoka here speaks of his attachment to the Buddhist Church as well as to vigorous action for the spread of Dharma. It has, however, to be noticed that while the Maski and some other versions have: "for more than a year I am *saṅgham upagataḥ* (*upetaḥ*, etc.)," several texts of the Edict have: "for more than a year *mayā saṅghaḥ upetaḥ* (*upayātaḥ*, etc.)," with which the verb *asti* is to be understood in view of the use of the verb *asmi* in the corresponding sentence of the former set of texts. In the second group of texts therefore we have : "for more than a year the Buddhist Church is *upeta* (*upayāta*, etc.) by me." If *ahaṁ saṅgham upagataḥ* (*upetaḥ*, etc.) *asmi* (I am devotedly attached to the Buddhist Church) means the same thing as *mayā saṅghaḥ upetaḥ* (*upagataḥ*, etc.) *asti*, as it must, the latter

[1] Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

apparently means "the Buddhist Church is intimately associated with me." The word *upagata* and its variations thus seem to indicate the same thing as *saṅgata*. This meaning also suits the reading *bāḍhaṁ ca sumi upagata* (=*bāḍhaṁ ca asmi upagataḥ*, "I am exceedingly [*saṅgham*] *upagata*") offered by Krishna Sastri and Senart. Aśoka therefore undertook the propagation of Dharma from the date of his intimate association with the Buddhist Church, which fell more than a year before the proclamation and a year after he had become a lay follower of the Buddha.

Some scholars think that *upagamana* here refers to a visit that Aśoka paid to the Buddhist Church, i.e., clergymen. This is most unlikely in view of the clear mention of Aśoka's relation with the Saṅgha as indicated by the words *upagata*, etc., to have lasted for more than a year at the time when the proclamation in question was made. The use of the word *sumi*=*asmi*, "I am", in some versions including Maski shows that the action indicated by *upagata*, etc., with reference to Aśoka's relation with the Buddhist Church was a continuous event lasting for the whole period of more than a year immediately preceding the date of the proclamation. To meet this difficulty it has been supposed by some writers that Aśoka was for the time being staying with the Saṅgha. Some scholars translate *upeta* as 'entered' and even think that Aśoka actually became a Buddhist monk, while others suggest that he became a *bhikṣu-gatika* or a *gṛhastha-muni*. That Aśoka was staying with the monks in the Buddhist Church is impossible to think as he himself says in course of the proclamation that it was issued when he had already passed no less than 256 days on tour, *i.e.*, on the 257th day of a tour undertaken by him for the propagation of Dharma. This cannot refer to his stay with the Buddhist clergy as the period covered is only about eight and half months and not more than a year. This meaning of *upagamana* moreover does not appear to suit the passage *utthānaṁ ca* [*aham*] *asmi upagataḥ* explained above. One may of course prefer the reading *bāḍhaṁ ca sumi upagate*, "I am exceedingly [*saṅgham*] *upagata*." But the interpretation of *upagamana* as 'visit' or 'stay' would be equally unsuitable in this case. That Aśoka was an *upāsaka* and not a monk at the time of the promulgation of the Edict under review is again quite evident from the use of the Present Tense in Section B as already indicated above.

The present Edict shows that Aśoka became a Buddhist *upāsaka*. His affiliation to the Buddhist faith and organisation is also suggested by his address to the Buddhist Church embodied in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ Edict, his order regarding the banishment of heretical monks and nuns for preserving the unity of the Saṅgha, contained in the Sāñcī, Kauśāmbī and Sārnāth Pillar Edicts, and his pilgrimage especially to the Buddhist holy places as referred to in Rock Edict VIII and the Rummindei and Niglīvā pillar inscriptions.[1] It is usually believed that Aśoka's coronation took place about 269 B.C. and that he became a Buddhist after he had been greatly moved by the horrors of the campaigns in Kaliṅga conquered by him in the eighth year after his *abhiṣeka* or ninth year of his reign, i.e., about 261-60 B.C. (cf. Rock Edict XIII). He must have been converted to the Buddhist faith before his pilgrimage to Sambodhi (i.e. Mahābodhi or Bodhgayā) in the tenth year after coro-

[1] The Ahraurā version of Minor Rock Edict I says how Aśoka set out on the long pilgrimage after installing the Buddha's relics on a platform.

nation, i.e., about 259-258 B.C. (cf. Rock Edict VIII). Pillar Edict VI, issued in Aśoka's twenty-seventh regnal year (c. 243-242 B.C.), says that the Maurya emperor began to cause his *Dharma-lipis* to be written down in his thirteenth regnal year (*c.* 257-256 B.C.). The nature of the Minor Rock Edict under discussion shows that it was one of the earliest *Dharmalipis,* if not exactly the earliest one, caused to be written by Aśoka about 257 B.C.[1]

The facts noted above would suggest : (1) that Aśoka became a Buddhist in the second half of his tenth regnal year (*c.* 260-259 B.C.), (2) that he came into close contact with the Buddhist Church in the second half of the eleventh year of his reign (*c.* 259-258 B.C.), when he also visited the greatest Buddhist holy place where the Buddha had attained enlightenment, (3) that he set out on a tour for the propagation of Dharma about the middle of his twelfth regnal year (*c.* 258-257 B.C.), and (4) that the present Edict was issued on the 257th day of that tour in the first half of the thirteenth year of his reign (*c.* 257-256 B.C). This would make the period of his *upāsakatva* preceding the date of the proclamation cover 'more than two and half years' from the latter half of the tenth to the first half of the thirteenth regnal year. During the first part of this period, lasting for 'one year' from the second half of the tenth to the corresponding period of the eleventh regnal year, Aśoka was not a zealous propagator of Dharma ; but, during its latter part covering 'more than a year' from the second half of the eleventh to the first half of the thirteenth regnal year, he was exerting himself very hard in the cause of Dharma.

Section D. The language of the Maski version makes a clear contrast between the situation prevailing 'formerly'—*pure* (Sans. *puras*=*purā*) and that obtaining 'now'—*dāni* (Sans. *idānīm*), *i.e.*, at the time the Edict was issued. The word 'now' is found in several other versions ; but instead of 'formerly' they have *imāya kālāya*=*asmai kālāya,*[2] *iminā cu kālena*=*anena ca tu kālena, imāyaṁ velāyam*=*asyāṁ velāyām,* etc., while in some cases the word 'now' is absent and has to be understood although we have *etena ca aṁtalena*= *etena ca antareṇa, iminā cu kālena*=*anena ca tu kālena*, etc. The words *kāla, velā* and *antara* (cf. *atikrāntam antaram* in Rock Edict V) are apparently used to convey the same idea as *pure* indicates in the present version, viz., 'time before now'.

According to Buddhist works and the Purāṇas, the earth is divided into four continents, and Jambu-dvīpa is the name of the southern continent which includes India, though often the name Jambu-dvīpa is applied to India.[3] By Jambu-dvīpa, however, Aśoka seems to have actually meant his empire which has been called 'the entire earth', according to an Indian convention, in the Dhauli Rock Edict V, line 7.[4]

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[1] Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. xliv ff.: also N. P. Chakravarti in *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 18-19. There is no doubt that at Erraguḍi the Minor Rock Edicts were engraved earlier than the Rock Edicts. Chakravarti suggests that the shorter vesion of the Minor Rock Edict, i.e. MRE I (e.g. at Rūpnāth) was issued earlier than its longer version (e.g., at Erraguḍi). But this is unwarranted as the same date of issue is sometimes found in both the versions (see below). Some scholars think that the dates in Aśoka's records are calculated according to the current reckoning so that eight years after the coronation would mean the eighth and not the ninth regnal year.

[2] This may be a mistake for *imāya velāya*=Sans. *asyāṁ velāyām.*

[3] See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 1971, pp. 17ff., 315ff.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 3; also Niṭṭūr MRE below.

According to the different versions of the Edict, which slightly vary in language, Aśoka claims that, in former times in Jambu-dvīpa, the gods had been unmingled with men or men had been unmingled with the gods but that, at the time of his proclamation, the gods had become or were made mingled with men or men had become or were made mingled with the gods. The other versions have an additional sentence saying that the said mingling of gods and men in Jambu-dvīpa was the result of Aśoka's *prakrama* or *parākrama*, i.e., the zeal in propagating Dharma exhibited by him during the period of more than a year preceding the date of the proclamation. This sentence is omitted in the Maski version. The idea is that formerly there had been no commingling between the gods and men and that such a commingling resulted in Jambu-dvīpa from the religious activities undertaken by Aśoka a year after he had become a Buddhist.

The real meaning of the commingling of the gods and men has been the subject of speculation among scholars. H. P. Sastri,[1] who followed Bühler in taking *misā kaṭā* (Rūpnāth version) to stand for Sanskrit *mṛṣāḥ kṛtāḥ*, wrongly suggested that Aśoka here claims to have falsified the gods, i.e., Brāhmaṇas who passed as gods on the earth. Sylvain Lévi pointed out that *misā kaṭā* is Sanskrit *miśrāḥ kṛtāḥ ;* but he took *devā* in the sense of 'kings'.[2] It is indeed difficult to believe that Aśoka, who claimed to have been 'the beloved of the *devas* (gods)' would have thought it proper to refer to his own self (or, to kings including himself) as a *deva* or god. Since, moreover, the word does not normally mean 'a king', he could not have been quite unconscious of the ambiguity that would result from its use here in that sense. It has to be admitted that Aśoka's language as known from his edicts is conspicuous for its simplicity. According to F. W. Thomas,[3] Aśoka claims that he had brought the Brāhmaṇical gods to the knowledge of the wild tribes and that the backward peoples who had formerly no gods or no religion became worshippers of gods as a result of Aśoka's religious propaganda. But the claim seems to refer to the entire population of Jambu-dvīpa.[4] Hultzsch compares the section under discussion with a statement in Rock Edict IV and says, "It refers to certain religious shows at which Aśoka had exhibited to his subjects *in effigie* the gods whose abodes they would be able to reach by the zealous practice of Dharma."[5] In his opinion, the word *deva* in this case corresponds to *divyāni rūpāṇi* of Rock Edict IV (Girnār). But the commingling of *devas* and *manuṣyas* is stated to have been the result of Aśoka's *parākrama* which even the poor people were also advised to emulate. Moreover, Rock Edict IV really says that Aśoka's *dharm-ānuśasti* achieved better result than the religious shows of former days had attained in many hundreds of years, as shown by D. R. Bhandarkar who also quotes from the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*

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[1] *Journ. Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. VI, 1910, pp. 259ff.

[2] J. Filliozat has attempted to support Lévi's interpretation of the word *deva* as 'a king' (*Journ. As.*, Tome CCXXVII, 1949, pp. 225ff.). He thinks that Aśoka introduced the custom of the king mixing with his subjects while he was on the tour of pilgrimage called *Dharma-yātrā* in R E VIII. Filliozat argues that, in the MRE, Aśoka points out the prospect only of heaven after death to the humble people, but not that of the company of gods on earth. In our opinion this interpretation of the edict is rendered untenable by Sections D and E of the present version read together.

[3] *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 505.

[4] It has also to be noticed that Aśoka's Dharma had little to do with the Brāhmaṇical gods.

[5] *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1913, pp. 652ff.

(II. 7. 16. 1)—*sahadeva-manuṣyā asmiṃl=loke purā babhūvuḥ ; atha devāḥ karmabhir= divaṁ jagmur=ahīyanta manuṣyāḥ ; teṣāṁ ye tathā karmāṇy=ārabhante saha devair= Brahmaṇā c=āmuṣmiṃl=loke bhavanti*, "Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods through [their meritorious] deeds went to heaven ; men were left behind. Whosoever perform the deeds of the gods in the same manner dwell [after death] with the gods and with Brahman in the other world."[1] According to Bhandarkar Āśoka "led men in the path of Dharma and induced them to perform virtuous courses to such an extent that they became fit to be commingled with gods, not simply in the next but rather in this world."

As we shall see below, in place of the passage *etiya aṭhāya ca sāvane kaṭe* (/*) *khudakā ca uḍālā ca pakamatu ti* (Rūpnāth), the Gujarrā version has . . . . . *khudāke cā uḍāre cā dhaṁmaṁ caraṁtū yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū*. This *yoga* seems to be nothing but the union between gods and men and the *yoga-yojana* is indirectly stated to have been the effect of *dharma-caraṇa.*

Sections E and F. Aśoka speaks of his energetic effort in the propagation of Dharma in Section C and of its brilliant result in Section D. Now he says that the same object can be achieved even by a poor man and that it is not the monopoly of a rich man like himself. Here Aśoka repudiates the idea that his religious activities might have been successful in begetting the remarkable result, *viz.*, the commingling of gods and men which had been previously non-existent in Jambu-dvīpa, only because he was a powerful emperor. He points out that anybody's efforts, if serious and energetic, would bring in the same result irrespective of his being rich or poor.

We have interpreted the words *khudaka* (Sans. *kṣudraka*) and *uḍālaka* (Sans. *udāraka*) as 'the poor man' and 'the rich man' respectively. The Eṟṟaguḍi version has in the place of this latter word, in one case *mahalaka*, Pali *mahallaka*, 'old' or 'big'. Some versions of the Edict have *mahātpā* (Sans. *mahātman*, 'a high-souled, noble, wise or powerful man') in place of *udāra* while Rock Edict X has the word *usaṭa* (Sans. *utsṛita*, 'a man of high rank'). These have led scholars to interpret *kṣudraka* as 'a lowly person'. 'lesser man', etc., and *udāra* as 'an exalted person', 'a greater man', etc. These meanings are also suitable

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[1] See *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. X, 1930. pp. 246ff. ; also Sylvain Lévi, *La doctrine de sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas*, Paris 1898, p. 84 ; La Vallée Poussin, *La morale bouddhique*, Pairs, 1927, p. 40. The *Harivaṁśa* (Bhaviṣya-parvan, Chapt. 31 : *Deva-mānuṣa-sahavāsa-kīrtana*) also says how : *devatānāṁ manuṣyāṇāṁ sahavāso='bhavat tadā*. Similarly Śaṅkara's commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 222-23) says, "The men of ancient times in consequence of their eminent religious merit, conversed with the gods face to face" (cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 357, note). A stanza in several records of the Śailodbhava dyansty of the Ganjam (Orissa) region says how king Ayaśobhita II Madhyamarāja (*c.* 665-95 A.D.), who was a royal ascetic, conversed with departed saints coming from heaven at his call (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 35). L. Renou has drawn attention to *divaḥ pṛṣṭhaṁ svar=gatvā miśrā devebhir=ādhvam* (*Atharvaveda*, IV. 14.2, etc.). See *Journ. As.*, Tome CCXXXVII, 1949, p. 203, note. This, however, speaks of the commingling of men with gods in heaven and not on earth. P. Meile has quoted some passages from Buddhist literature (*ibid.*, pp. 211 ff.) and one interesting passage from the Tamil classic *Maṇimegalai* (I, lines 62-67), which refers to the Dīpakaśānti festival in honour of the god Indra, instituted by an ancient Cola king. The festival lasted for 28 days, during which period people abstained from misdeeds and believed that "the gods and men would commingle and revel as equals during the four-times seven days."

to the context, since the implication is the same. It may be noticed that in many Indian languages words indicating 'big' and 'small' are often used to signify 'rich' and 'poor' respectively.

The other versions of the Edict add a passage which seems to elaborate Aśoka's idea about the results obtainable from energetic religious activities undertaken by people, both rich and poor. According to these versions: "This [object] can be achieved not only by a rich man, but even the great heaven can be attained also by a poor man if he is zealous." Here 'this' no doubt means the object achieved by Aśoka as a result of this energetic efforts, *viz.*, the commingling of gods and men. But while saying that this object can be obtained by anybody rich or poor, he speaks of a more attractive reward that may result from zealous religious activities. This is the attainment of the greatest heaven even by the poorest man if only the latter exerts himself. The 'great heaven' may have been superior to the heaven where the gods were believed to dwell.

Thomas and Senart take *prakrama* in the sense of 'travelling about'. But *parākrama* is used in some versions of the Edict in the place of *prakrama* (cf. also Rock Edict VI), and the meaning of the word *parākrama* (and also *prakrama*) can be gathered from other Aśokan records. In Rock Edict VI Aśoka says: *ya ca kiṁci parākramāmi ahaṁ—kiṁ ti—bhūtānaṁ ānaṁṇaṁ gacheyaṁ*] ; *idha ca nāni sukhāpayāmi paratra ca svagaṁ ārādhyaṁtu ti,* "And whatever little effort I make—why?—that I may be free from debt to the living beings, that I may render them happy here and that they may gain heaven in the next world." About the end of the same Edict where Aśoka expresses his hope that his descendants would follow him in his mission for the welfare of the world on a perusal of the inscription, it is further said: *dukaraṁ tu idaṁ añatra agena parākramena,* "This, however, is difficult to accomplish without the utmost exertion." In Rock Edict X he says *yaṁ tu kici pari(rā)kamate Devānaṁ(priyo°) Priyadasi rājā ta savaṁ pāratrikāya—kiṁ ti—sakale apa-parisrave asa,* "Whatever exertion king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, puts forth is all for the future world—why—that everyone may have the least corruption." Further on, it is said in the same Edict—*dukaraṁ tu kho etaṁ chudakena va janena* (or *vagena*) *usaṭena va añatra agena parākramena savaṁ paricajiptā,* "This, however, is difficult to accomplish by both the poor and the rich man (or, class) except by the utmost exertion after renouncing all other [aims]." To this is added the sentence : "This is more difficult for a rich man to accomplish." These references show that Aśoka's *parākrama* or *prakrama* was meant for the benefit of the people in this world and the next. The result of this was of course the mingling of gods and men throughout his empire. What he wanted is that all classes of people should follow his example so that Dharma may go on increasing and spreading and that they may attain heaven after death.

Aśoka speaks of *svarga* or heaven, and not *nirvāṇa,* the Buddhist salvation, as the highest goal of human existence. This may be supposed to be due to the fact that he was addressing householders and not monks who alone, according to early Buddhist conception, appear to have been entitled to *nirvāṇa.* But since he often speaks of the Saṅgha and the Bhikṣus and Śramaṇas, etc., it is better to think that Aśoka's Buddhism was an earlier form of the doctrine as known from Buddhist canonical literature.

Section G. Maski offers the shortest version of the text of this section. A number of additional details are found in the other texts of the Edict.

By 'if you act in this manner', Aśoka no doubt means 'if you act as I have been doing for more than a year now'. This refers to the zealous propagation of Dharma that resulted in the commingling of gods and men in Jambu-dvīpa. He means to say that, if all his subjects would act according to his exhortation, this noble work in the cause of Dharma will prosper, spread and last for a long time.

Many of the other versions of the Edict say that the proclamation was made with a view to achieve the following : (1) that both the poor and the rich should be zealous in their religious activities, (2) that the people living in countries bordering the Maurya empire should also know the subject of the proclamation, and (3) that the work furthering the spread of Dharma should last for a long time. They often have a sentence expressing Aśoka's conviction that the said noble object will go on increasing without however the clause : "If you act in this way", as in our version. A few of the texts add to this an order saying that the proclamation should be engraved on a rock or a stone pillar wherever one would be found and, according to the Rūpnāth version, whenever an opportunity would offer itself. The Rūpnāth version has an additional order to the effect that the officers addressed should set out on tour and visit (or send out their subordinates to visit) different parts of their *āhāra* or district according to the spirit of the proclamation, i.e. for the propagation of Dharma. The Niṭṭūr version speaks of the dispatch of the Edict to different parts of the empire.

The above is followed in the Chitradurga and Karnul versions by the sentence: "This proclamation is issued by the *vyuṭha=vyūtha=vivutha*" which is in some cases followed by the number 256. Earlier writers believed that the expression points to the Buddha (or Mahāvīra) with reference to his *abhiniṣkramaṇa* or death. Gopala Aiyar rightly understood it to mean Aśoka himself, although he wrongly associated it to the king's death.[1] Fleet took *vivas* to mean 'spending a night in worship' ; but F. W. Thomas interpreted Aśoka's *vivāsa* correctly for the first time. The word *vyutha* and its variants certainly stand for Pali *vivuttha* which is the same as Sanskrit *vyuṣita,* i.e., *proṣita, pravāsin,* etc. The word *vyuthena* has been rightly explained as "by [me] on tour". The number 256 is partially explained by the Rūpnāth version which has : *256 sata vivāsā*(*so*) *to*(*ti*), "256 [nights had then been] spent on tour." The passage stands for : *256 śate* (*=rātri-śate*) [*mama*] *vivāsaḥ iti* in which *vivāsa* means 'absence from home [on tour]'. The proper interpretation of the number 256 is suggested by the Sahasrām version which has : *duve sapaṁnā-lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256,* Sanskrit *dve ṣaṭpañcāśad-rātri-śate vyuṣitaḥ* [*aham*] *iti 256=dve rātri-śate ṣaṭpañcāśat ca rātrīḥ—256—vyuṣitaḥ* [*aham*] *iti.* This makes it clear that Aśoka issued the proclamation under study when he was on tour that had already lasted for 256 days. The use of the word *rātri* in the sense of days passed away from home is well known from numerous passages like *tri-rātram=uṣitaḥ snātas=tarpayet pitṛ-*

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 346-47.

devatāḥ in the *Mahābhārata*[1] and *ekaṁ rattiṁ vippavasati* in Pali works. Senart's attempt to interpret *lāti* as Sanskrit *rati* (cf. Kālsī RE VIII, line 23) is certainly wrong. As will be seen below, the Ahraurā and Pāngurāriā versions offer some interesting details about Aśoka's long tour.

The presence of 256 in some versions of the Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka is sometimes sought to be explained by pointing out that this is exactly the number of days for which the Buddhist monks were required to move about while, for the remaining days of the year during the rainy season, they had to stay at a place.[2] But the season for the Buddhist monks to observe *varṣā-vāsa* began on the Āṣāḍha full moon and ended with the Kārttika full moon, i.e., lasted for four lunar months or about 120 days in all so that the remaining days of the lunar year numbered much less than 256. There was of course a shorter period of *varṣā-vāsa* covering three lunar months from the Śrāvaṇa full moon, which must have been introduced at a later date. The seasons are known to have consisted of four lunar months in the age of the Mauryas (cf. Separate Kaliṅga RE II, and PE V).[3] Filliozat seeks to explain away this difficulty by suggesting that a month in this case was an astronomical (sidereal) month of a little over 27 days as known from the *Jyotiṣavedāṅga*.[4] This is impossible in view of the fact that the beginning and end of the period of retirement of the Buddhist monks during the rains are definitely known from Buddhist literature. Moreover, the Aśokan edicts referred to above speak of four lunar months constituting a season and certainly not of the so-called astronomical (sidereal) months.

In spite of the very clear indication of the Sahasrām version, now supported by the Ahraurā text, attempts have been made to explain *vivuthena 256* as 'by the date 256', 'by 256 missionaries', 'by the despatch of 256 officers', 'by the despatch of 256 copies of the proclamation,' etc. The wrong belief that the proclamation under study was made by Aśoka in the year 256 of the Buddhist Parinirvāṇa era again has led to unwarranted speculations about the date of the Edict.[5]

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[1] III. 82.62.

[2] Filliozat, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

[3] See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 46, 60-61.

[4] Cf. Kaye, *Hindu Astronomy*, MASI, No. 18, pp. 17, 59.

[5] See below, Chapter IV, Section I.

CHAPTER IV

NORTHERN VERSIONS OF MRE I AT AHRAURA AND DELHI

I. AHRAURA VERSION

The village of Ahraurā in the Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh is well known in the area for the temple of the goddess Bhaṇḍāridevī, situated on a hill. The inscription under study is engraved on a boulder about a hundred yards from the said temple which is much frequented by the people of the locality. The inscribed boulder is also close to the inhabited area of the village. It is surprising that, in spite of this, the inscription required such a long time to be brought to the notice of scholars.

According to an announcement of the Press Trust of India appearing in the newspapers including *The Leader* of Allahabad, dated the 11th November 1961, an exploration party of the Allahabad University, led by Professor G. R. Sharma of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, visited the village of Ahraurā and discovered the inscription. The newspaper report contains also Sharma's views regarding the importance of the inscription, to which reference is made below.

While publishing the inscription in the *Bhāratī* (Research Bulletin of the College of Indology, Hindu University, Varanasi), Part I, No. 5, 1961-62, pp. 97-105, Professor A. K. Narain of the College of Indology, however, states that R. G. Pandey, Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, stationed at Varanasi, had previously discovered the inscription and sent a report on its existence to the Superintendent of the Survey, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna. Narain is stated to have visited Ahraurā on the 27th December 1961 in the company of Pandey and A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and taken photographs of the inscription and the temple as also impressions of the former. Some of these he published as illustrations in his paper in the *Bhāratī*. The facsimile of the inscription published by Narain is, however, unsatisfactory. The same issue of the *Bhāratī*, pp. 135-40, also contains a paper on the inscription from the pen of Professor V. V. Mirashi.

In January 1962, A. N. Lahiri, while he was passing through Calcutta, was good enough to show me an impression of the inscription which, unfortunately, was not quite satisfactory. A few months later, H. K. Narasimhaswami, then in charge of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, was so kind as to send me a better estampage and a good photograph of the Ahraurā inscription for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The estampage was one of the impressions of the record taken in March 1962 by S. Sankaranarayanan, one of the Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy. I was also informed that Sankaranarayanan's paper on the record was appearing in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.[1]

[1] See Vol. XXXVII, pp. 217ff.

The inscription contains eleven lines of writing, which cover an area about 82.5 cm. in height and about 112.5 cm. in length. A large number of letters are completely broken away from lines 1-6, though the preservation of the writing in the extant part is fairly satisfactory. A line of writing contains about 26 *akṣaras.* The number of lost *akṣaras* in the damaged section is higher in an upper line than in the lower, those visible in line 1 being only 4.

The characters of the inscription are Early Brāhmī as found in most other edicts of Aśoka and its language is what is usually called the Magadha dialect. The record is a version of Minor Rock Edict I of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.). As is well known, other versions of the edict had been previously discovered at (1) Sahasrām in the Shahabad (now Rohtas) District, Bihar; (2-3) Rūpnāth in the Jabalpur District and Gujarrā in the Datia District, Madhya Pradesh; (4) Bairāṭ in the Jaipur District, Rajasthan; (5-10) Maski, Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu in the Raichur District and Śiddāpura, Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara in the Chitaldrug (Chitradurga) District, Karnataka; and (11-12) Eṟṟaguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh. Many of these versions, discovered earlier, were re-edited by E. Hultzsch in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 166-80; but the Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu versions were published by R. L. Turner in *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 10, and the Gujjarā, Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Eṟṟaguḍi versions by us in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 205-18, and Vol. XXXII, pp. 6-9.

The great importance of the Ahraurā version of Minor Rock Edict I is that it begins and ends differently from any of the other known versions. Unfortunately, as indicated above, the earlier part of the record is damaged, so that it is not possible to determine the correct reading of this section; but it is a matter of great satisfaction that the reading of the concluding part, which is of exceptional interest, is beyond doubt. It may, however, be pointed out that this part has not yet been correctly read or interpreted by those who had an opportunity to express their views on the epigraph.

According to Sharma, the inscription 'was engraved' in the year 256 of an era reckoned from the death of the Buddha, and it is hoped that this would settle the prolonged controversy about the word *vyuthena* and the figures 256 mentioned in the other versions, as the words *Budhasa salīle aloke* (i.e., from the *parinirvāṇa* of Gautama Buddha) were 'unmistakably clear in the inscription'. He further emphasises that the record proves 'beyond doubt the currency of the Buddha era in the ancient times which has so far been inferred only from literary evidence'. Unfortunately, we are not inclined to agree with any of these views which appear to us to be based on inaccurate reading and its more incorrect interpretation.

Narain rightly regards Sharma's views as wrong. But his own transcript of the epigraph is not quite free from errors, and we find it difficult to accept his fanciful interpretation of certain well-known words such as *avaladhiyā* and *vivuthena.* According to him, *avaladhiyā* is the locative form of *āraddhi=āladdhi=avaladdhi* which he interprets as 'the initiative energy'. It is of course impossible to accept this derivation of the word. But what is

strange is that while translating the passage *diyaḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyā vaḍhisati* as 'the initiative energy will grow by one and half times', the word *avaladhiyā* seems to have been taken by Narain in the nominative case and not in the locative. The same word occurs in the other versions of the edict as *apaladhiyenā* (Rūpnāth), *avaladhiyenā* (Sahasrām) and *avaradhiyā* (Brahmagiri, etc.). Thus sometimes (as in *apaladhiyenā* and *avaladhiyenā*) it is clearly in the instrumental case, and we do not see how both the locative and instrumental cases would suit Narain's translation. We have no doubt that *apaladhiyena=avaladhiyenā* stands for Sanskrit *avar-ādhikena* and *avaradhiyā=avaladhiyā* for *avar-ādhikāt*, used here, on the analogy of *alpena=alpāt*, in the sense of *alp-ādhikena=alp-ādhikāt*, i.e., 'more or less.' It has also to be noticed that the noun *āladhi=āradhi* itself is used in the inscriptions of Aśoka in the sense of 'the act of obtaining' while the participial form *āradha=āladha* is known from these records to mean 'obtained'; cf. also the form *ārādheti, ārādhetu, ārādhetave, ārādhayaṁtu, ālādhayisatha, ālādhayeyu*, etc.[1]

As regards the word *vivuthena*, Narain regards its derivation from the root *vi-vas* meaning 'being on tour, away from home' as wrong on the following grounds: "When conjoined with the suffix *kta*, as has been done in this case, *va*, the initial letter of the root, is changed into *u*. This rule holds good in Sanskrit and all the Prakrits. Thus the form should have been *viuthena*, not *vivuthena*. There is no justification for its being written as *vu*." He further thinks that, in interpreting *vi-vas* as 'being on a tour, away from home', scholars have confused it with *pra-vas*. His own views are: "*Vivuthena* is clearly a form of *vivṛtena* (Sk.) or *vivaṭena* (Pali), which means 'openly', 'publicly'. The instrumental case in the word is adverbial." Unfortunately, it is impossible to agree with any of these points which are all due to misunderstanding.

In the first place, there are many instances of *u* written as *vu* in the inscriptions of Aśoka ; *e.g.* *vucati*=Sanskrit *ucyate* (Shāhbābgarhī and Mansehrā RE XIII, line 8 in both cases) ; *vuta*=Sanskrit *upta* (Shāhbāzgarhī RE II, line 5); *vuta*=Sanskrit *ukta* (Girnār RE IX, line 6; XIV, line 4; Dhauli RE IX, line 5; XIV, line 2), etc. Secondly, the root *vi-vas* is used in Aśoka's inscriptions, e.g., at Rūpnāth, lines 5 and 6, and Sārnāth, lines 10 and 11. In the Sarnath Minor Pillar Edict *vivāsayātha* and *vivāsāpayāthā* are used to indicate respectively, 'you should set out on tour' and 'you should send [others] on tour', while *vivasetaviya* in the Rūpnāth version of Minor Rock Edict I means 'you should set out on tour'. Thirdly, that *vivutha* is derived from *vi-vas* is clearly suggested by the Rūpnāth version of the edict, in which *vyuṭhetnā sāvane kaṭe* is explained and amplified by the following passage *256 sata vivāsā(so) ta(ti)*. It is difficult to explain the change of *ta* or *ṭa* to *tha* as Narain proposes. Here *vyuṭha* is the participial adjective and *vivāsa* the noun, both derived from the same root, viz. *vi-vas*. There is thus little substance in Narain's contentions. In this edict, *vivutha* apparently stands for Sanskrit *vyuṣita*. It has to be noted that the common Pali-Prakrit form of Sanskrit *uṣita* is *vuttha*, so that *vivutha* stands for Pali-Prakrit *vivuttha*. The use *ṭha* instead *tha* is only found in the form

[1] The words can be traced in the inscriptions with the help of the Index at the end of *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1925. We have indicated the *ā*-sign in the words occuring in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which do not show such signs of length.

vyuṭha in the Rūpnāth version and, although Monier-Williams supports the use of *vyuṣṭa* in the sense of *vyuṣita*, *vyuṭha* of Rūpnāth may be a scribal error for *vyutha* which is a variant of *vivutha*.

Narain regards line 11, which is the most important section of the extant part of the inscription, as a separate setntence. His reading and translation of the line are as follows: *duve sapaṁnā lāti sati aṁmaṁ(mhaṁ)* [*ca*?] *Budhasa salile aloḍhe*[*tvā* ar *ca*?], "Two hundred fifty-six nights (days) after having enshrined the relics of our Buddha," or "Two hundred fifty-six nights (i.e. days) are over since the relics of our Buddha were enshrined [by me]." It has, however, been overlooked that, if the first interpretation is preferred, there is no point in Narain's emphasis on the full-stop at the end of line 10, which would make line 11 an independent sentence. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether a devotee of the Buddha would refer to the object of his veneration in an endearing fashion as 'our Buddha' in the age of Aśoka when he was being worshipped as a great divinity.

Mirashi's reading of the concluding part of the Ahraurā inscription does not differ very much from that of Narain. But, in place of Narain's *aṁmaṁ(hmaṁ)* [*ca* ?], he suggests the reading to be *saṁmaṁsaṁ* to that the reference in the inscription would be to *Samyaksambuddha* and not to *Buddha*. Sankaranarayanan's main contention is that *aṁmaṁ* ... *salile* stands for Sanskrit *āśmaṁ* ... *śarīram* and refers to a stone image of the Buddha or some object (such as the figure of an elephant) standing for the Buddha. We do not agree with either of these views. While Mirashi's suggestion is totally unsupported by the clear reading of the letters, the word *śarīra* is used in the Buddhist literature and inscriptions[1] in the sense of 'corporeal relics' and not of 'an image or representation'.

Only four *akṣaras* are extant at the end of line 1, so that about 22 of them are lost from the beginning of the line. These four *akṣaras* are *piyo sāti*. At the end of the similarly preserved line 2, we can read [*sa*]*dhi*[*kā*], though there is space for two or three more *akṣaras* after that. Thus about 20 *akṣaras* are lost from the beginning of this line. Of the 4 *akṣaras* in line 1, *piyo* looks like the concluding part of the name *Devānaṁpiyo* while *sāti* seems to be the earlier part of the word *sātilekāni*. But a reference to the other versions would suggest that these letters belong to the introductory part since the edict proper begins with the word *sādhikā*[*ni*] about the end of line 2. The introductory section in the present version, which was written in lines 1-2 in about 46 *akṣaras* and probably had the words *Devānaṁpiyo* and *sātilekāni* about the middle, appears to have been different from the same in the other versions which are introduced as follows: (1) *Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āhā* (or *āha*) (/*) *sātirakekāni* (Rūpnāth); (2) *Devānaṁpiye āhā* (/*) *sātirekāni* (Bairāṭ); (3) *Devānaṁpiyasa Asokasa* . . . (Maski); (4) *Suvaṁṇagirīte Aya-putasa Mahāmātāṇaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi Mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā* (/*) *hevaṁ ca vataviyā* (/*) *Devānaṁpiya āṇapayati* (/*) *adhikāni* (Brahmagiri); (5) *Suvaṁṇagirīte Aya-putasa Mahāmātāṇaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi Mahamātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā* (/*) *Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āha* (/*) *adhikāni* (Śiddāpura); (6) *Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasino Asokarājasa* (Gujarrā); (7) *Devānaṁpiye hevāha* (/*) *adhikāni* (Eṟṟaguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri); etc. Unfortunately, there is no

[1] Cf. P.T.S. *Pali Dict.*, s.v. *salila*; *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, pp. 103, 109, 113, 120, 128, 143, 153.

way to restore the lost words in the introductory part of the inscription in lines 1-2 of the Ahraurā version, though it appears to have been fairly long as in the Chitaldurg (Chitradurga) versions and probably referred to a period of time in relation to an event of Aśoka's life. Considering the context, it is not impossible that the reference here was to the Kaliṅga war which led to Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism.

We can read at the end of lines 3-4, the beginning of which is likewise lost, the passages *ca bāḍhaṁ palakaṁte* and *ca palakaṁte etena.* It is clear from the number of the lost *akṣaras* that, with the word *sādhikāni* about the end of line 2, the text of lines 3-4 has to be restored, with the help of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth versions, as follows: *sādhikā [ni aḍhatiyāni aṁ upāsake sumi na] ca bāḍhaṁ palakaṁte* (/*) *[saṁvachale sādhike aṁ sumi hakaṁ sagha upeta bāḍhaṁ] ca palakaṁte* (/*). These two sentences show that, when the edict was promulgated, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two and a half years, that he was not zealous [in the matter of Dharma at first] and that he became zealous [in the matter of Dharma] for a little over one year [about the end of the said period of a little over two and a half years]. Thus there is mention here of three periods of time, (1) the first giving the whole period from his initiation into Buddhism down to the date of the edict as more than two and a half years, (2) the second referring to the initial period of his inaction without specifying its length, and (3) the third mentioning the period characterised by his zealous activity in relation to Dharma, the length of which is given as more than a year. It is, of course, obvious from this that the unspecified period of inactivity mentioned in the second place was of one year and that is what is clearly stated in some of the versions, e.g., *no tu kho bāḍhaṁ prakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ saṁvacharaṁ* (Brahmagiri; cf. the similar text of the sentence in the Śiddāpura, Eṟṟaguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri versions).

In lines 5-6, the loss of letters is in the central part, so that we can read the *akṣaras* both at the beginning and at the end. Thus in line 5 we have *[a]ṁta[le]* at the beginning and *misaṁdevā kaṭā* at the end, while line 6 has *palakama[sa i]* and *[tvana va sa]kya pāpotave khudakena pi* at the beginning and the end respectively. With *etena* at the end of line 4, the text of these lines, considering the number of the *akṣaras* lost in the lines and the texts of the other versions, may be restored as: *etena aṁtale[na Jaṁbudīpasi amisaṁdevā saṁta munisā*] misaṁdevā kaṭā* (/*) *pakamasa i[yaṁ phale*]* (/*) *[no hīyaṁ maha*]tvana va sakya pāpotave* (/*).

In the first sentence here, the word *aṁtala*=Sanskrit *antara* has been used in the sense of 'a period of time' with reference to the period of time before the year which was characterised by Aśoka's zealous activity in the matter of Dharma. This meaning is clear not only from the use of *aṁtara, aṁtala* and *aṁtalikā* elsewhere in the Aśokan edicts, but also from the different texts of the present edict; e.g. (1) *yā imāya velāya* (?) *Jaṁbudīpasi amisā devā husu te dāni misā kaṭā* (Rūpnāth); *pure Jaṁbu-[dīpasi ye amisā devā husu] te dāni misibhūtā* (Maski); *iminā cu kālena amisā samānā munisā Jaṁbu-dīpasi misā devehi* (Chitaldurg=Chitradurga versions); *iminā cu kālena amisā ye munisā devehi te dāni misibhūtā* (Eṟṟaguḍi); *etenā aṁtarenā Jaṁbu-dīpasi Devānaṁpiyasa amisaṁdevā saṁto*

munisā misamdevā kaṭā (Gujarrā) ; etc. It will be seen that the words *velā* and *kāla* have been used elsewhere as the synonyms of *antara* of the present record, the Sahasrām text being the same as in our version. It is stated here that, during the period of more than a year which was characterised by Aśoka's zealous activity in respect of Dharma, people who had been formerly unmingled with the gods became commingled with the latter. What is meant is that Aśoka led men in the path of Dharma so much so that they became fit for commingling with the gods both on the earth and in heaven. This refers to the ancient Indian belief that pious people (like the Śailodbhava king Ayaśobhīta Madhyamarāja of Orissa) often brought the gods to the earth to converse with them.[1]

The three sentences that follow the above, two of which have already been quoted, mean to say that the said commingling of the gods and men was the result of Aśoka's exertion in the cause of Dharma, and that the same result could be obtained not only by the big people like Aśoka, but that even a poor man, if he was zealous like Aśoka, could reach even the great heaven, meaning either the world of gods or more probably a still higher station.

The next few sentences state why Aśoka promulgated the edict and gives the reasons under the following two categories : (1) he wanted that both the poor and rich people should exert in the cause of Dharma, that the *antas* or the people of the areas outside the borders of the Maurya empire[2] should know all about Aśoka's exertion in the cause of Dharma and its result and that exertion in that respect should be attempted by all to make it everlasting, and (2) he also declared that the said matter, i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma, would not only increase, but that it would increase greatly and would even increase more or less one and a half times.

Instead of the passage meaning "let the rich and the poor exert [in the cause of Dharma]," the Gujarrā version has "let the poor and the rich practise [the duties of] Dharma and get commingled [with the gods](*yogam yumjamtū*)."

The last sentence in lines 10-11, a clause in which is found only in the present version, reads : *esa sāvane vivuthe*[*na*] [*du*]*ve sapamnā-lāti-sati am mamce Budhasa salile alodde* [*ti*]. In this, the last *akṣara* is *ti*, though there is an oval sign attached to the lower right slanting stroke of *ta*. This mark is not quite like the globular subscript *v* in the *akṣara tva* in line 6. Moreover, if we read the *akṣara* as *tvi*, it would probably have to be regarded as a mistake for *ti*=Sanskrit *iti*. It is possibly better to regard the sign as a mark of punctuation or auspiciousness such as the crescent-symbol opening towards the left found at the end of many of the Rock Edicts at Kālsī and the globular sign with a dot inside (resembling the Early Brāhmī character *tha*) as noticed often at the end of an

[1] See above, p. 68, note ; Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad, 1958, p. 27, note ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 35.

[2] In Buddhist literature, *anta* means the areas near but within the borders, while *pratyanta* means the areas outside the borders (*Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 22). But, in the inscriptions of Aśoka, *anta* is used in both these senses. Cf. Rock Edicts II and XIII for the second meaning. Note also the word *apar-ānta* (RE V) in which *anta* has the other meaning. In the designation *Anta-Mahāmātra* (PE I) the word may have both the meanings (cf. Separate Kalinga Edict II).

inscription or a section thereof.[1] We also know of the use of a globular mark with an *akṣara* intended to be a sign of cancellation,[2] although that meaning does not appear to be applicable to the mark in the present case.

The above sentence may be Sanskritised and interpreted as follows: *etat śrāvaṇaṁ vyuṣitena [mayā śrāvitaṁ] dve ṣaṭpañcāśad-rātri-śate yat (=yataḥ) mañcaṁ Buddhasya śarīraṁ (=deh-āvaśeṣaḥ) ārūḍham=iti*, "This declaration is [made by me as I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage] for 256 nights since the relics of the Buddha rose to (i.e. were caused by me to be installed on) the platform."

It seems better to regard *sati* standing for Sanskrit *śate* rather than for *śatī*. The word *aṁ* standing for Sanskrit *yat* in the sense of 'since' is often met with in Aśokan records; e.g. in Minor Rock Edict I: *aṁ upāsaka sumi* (Sanskrit *yat [aham] upāsakaḥ asmi*, 'since I am (have been) a lay follower [of the Buddha]' (Sahasrām). As regards the use of the word *lāti*=Sanskrit *rātri*, 'a night' in the sense of 'a day including day and night', it is very common in Sanskrit literature, especially in the description of tours of pilgrimage, etc.[3]

The above sentence may be compared with the two concluding sentences of the Sahasrām version, which run as follows: *iyaṁ ca sāvane vivuthena (/*) duve sapaṁnā-lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256 (/*)* (Sanskrit *idaṁ ca śrāvaṇaṁ vyuṣitena [mayā śrāvitam]/dve ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-rātri-śate vyuṣitaḥ [aham] iti—256*), "And this declaration [has been made by me while I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage]. [I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage] for two hundred and fifty-six nights—256."

The meaning of this section is so clear from the language that it is quite impossible to agree with those who prefer such interpretations as (1) that 256 officers were despatched along with the proclamation to different centres of the empire; (2) that the message was proclaimed 256 times; (3) that the proclamation was made or engraved when 256 years of an era (usually identified with the Buddha-parinirvāṇa era) had elapsed; (4-5) that the edict was proclaimed by the dispatch of 256 copies of it or of 256 missionaries; etc.[4]

We have seen elsewhere[5] that Aśoka began to promulgate his edicts relating to Dharma twelve years after his coronation, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign, and that Minor Rock Edict I was one of the earliest edicts, if not the earliest one, issued by the Maurya emperor. Thus the present edict was issued in Aśoka's thirteenth regnal year when he was away on a pilgrimage which had already lasted 256 days, i.e. a little over eight and a half lunar months, or nearly three-fourths of a lunar year of three hundred and fifty-

[1] Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, pp. 135-36.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 262 and note 10.

[3] Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 82. 62: *Tīrthe salila-rājasya snātvā prayata-mānasaḥ/tri-rātram=uṣitaḥ snātas=tarpayet=pitṛ-devatāḥ//* It is impossible to agree with those who take *lati* in some other sense. The word is *lāti* and not *lati* so that it cannot stand for Sanskrit *rati*. See above, p. 71; also Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 29.

[4] Cf. Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[5] See above, pp. 70-71; Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 23ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 336.

four days. On the other hand, Aśoka must have been initiated into Buddhism sometime after the date of the Kaliṅga war which took place eight years after his coronation, i.e. in his ninth regnal year, and sometime before the date of his visit to the Sambodhi or Mahābodhi (i.e. Bodhgayā) which took place ten years after his coronation, i.e. the eleventh year of his reign. Since the pilgrimage to Sambodhi appears to have been one of the earliest acts of Aśoka when he became zealous in the cause of Dharma one year after his initiation, the latter event probably took place nine years after his coronation, i.e. in the tenth regnal year. A year after that date, probably in the latter half of his eleventh regnal year, Aśoka came into close relations with the Buddhist Church and became zealous in the propagation of Dharma. After about a year, he set out on a pilgrimage sometime in the second half of his twelfth regnal year and issued Minor Rock Edict I eight and a half months later in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year. This would account for the period of a little over two and a half years between Aśoka's initiation into Buddhism and the date of Minor Rock Edict I.

Minor Rock Edict I is the only inscription of Aśoka which states that he set out on a long tour of pilgrimage, in the course of which the edict was promulgated, and the Ahraurā version of the edict is the only Aśokan record which states that the pilgrimage was undertaken immediately after the installation of the relics of the Buddha on a platform no doubt for worship in the capital city of Pāṭaliputra. This adds one more point to the evidence suggesting that Aśoka was a Buddhist and is also in agreement with Buddhist tradition.

That Aśoka was a patron of the Buddha's doctrine and was responsible for raising it from the status of a local sectarian creed of Eastern India to that of one of the principal religions of the world admits of little doubt.[1] Although the word *dharma* as used in his edicts generally means a code of morals preached by him probably following what were known to him to be the teachings of the Buddha, the Calcutta-Bairāṭ edict (MRE III) clearly uses the word in the sense of the Buddha's doctrine which is called 'the True Faith' (*saddharma*). This edict not only refers to Aśoka's reverence for and faith in the Buddhist Trinity (i.e. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha), but also prescribes certain religious texts, selected by himself, for the regular consultation not only of the lay followers of the Buddha but even of the Buddhist monks and nuns. Aśoka is known to have visited only the Buddhist holy places like Sambodhi (Bodhgayā), Lumbinīgrāma and Kanakamuni-stūpa. Several versions of a pillar edict contain th text of his order to his officers to the effect that heretical monks and nuns should have to be expelled from the Saṅgha, and this attempt on Aśoka's part to preserve the unity of he Buddhist Church is also known from the Southern Buddhist tradition. All this was not possible for Aśoka if he was not a Buddhist. He is represented in Buddhist traditions as a lay follower of the Buddha and a patron of Buddhism, while we have seen how, in Minor Rock Edict I, he actually claims to be a lay worshipper of the Buddha. With some of his inscriptions, we have either the figure of or a reference to the elephant as the symbolical representation of the Buddha. To these facts pointing to Aśoka's initiation into the Buddhist faith, we have now to add

[1] Cf. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 17ff.

his statement that the relics of the Buddha had been installed [by him] on a platform apparently for worship immediately before he set out on a long tour of pilgrimage about the latter half of his twelfth regnal year.

According to Buddhist traditions, Aśoka built the Aśokārāma at Pāṭaliputra and no less than 84,000 Buddhist monasteries in various cities within his empire.[1] It is of course difficult to say whether the relics of the Buddha stated to have been installed by Aśoka in the edict under study were enshrined in the Aśokārāma ; but the possibility is there. According to traditions the Buddha's relics were originally in the possession of the Mallas of Kuśinārā where the Buddha died though they were later divided among the said Mallas and seven other claimants, viz. king Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, the Śākyas of Kapilavāstu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, a Brāhmaṇa of Veṭhadvīpa and the Mallas of Pāvā. Aśoka is said to have taken out the relics enshrined in the Stūpas built by these people and redistributed them among the 84,000 Stūpas built by himself. Some of Aśoka's Stūpas were in existence as late as the 7th century A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang visited India and saw them in different regions as far east as Bengal and as far south as Kāñcīpura near Madras. The pilgrim also refers to Aśoka's daily practice of offering worship at the stone bearing the Buddha's footprints installed at Pāṭaliputra. Whether this was enshrined in the Aśokārāma cannot be determined. It is also difficult to say whether it is the same stone which has been referred to in the edict under study as the *mañca,* on which the relics of the Buddha were installed for worship.

TEXT[2]

1[3] (I) . . . . piyo[4] (/*) (II) sāti[5]

2[6] . . . . (III) [sā]dh[ikā] . . .[7]

3[8] . . . . (IV) . . . ca bāḍhaṁ palakaṁte (/*)

4[9] (V) . . . . ca palakaṁte (/*) (VI) etena

5 [a]ṁtal[e][10] . . . . misaṁdevā kaṭā (/*)

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[1] Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* Vol. II, pp. 91ff. ; R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka,* pp. 60ff. ; Sircar, *Maski Inscription* of *Aśoka,* pp. 7-8.

[2] From impressions.

[3] About 22 *akṣaras* are lost here.

[4] The intended word may be *Devānaṁpiyo.*

[5] The intended word may be *sātilekāni.*

[6] About 20 *akṣaras* are lost here.

[7] About three *akṣaras* are lost here. They are apparently *ni aḍha,* so that we have to restore *sādhikāni aḍha°.*

[8] The *akṣaras* lost here may be restored as *°tiyāni saṁvachalāni aṁ upāsake sumi (/°) no.*

[9] The *akṣaras* lost here may be restored as *saṁvachale sādhike aṁ sumi hakaṁ saṁgha upeta bāḍhaṁ.*

[10] The *akṣaras* lost here may be restored as *°na Jaṁbu-dīpasi amisaṁdevā saṁta munisā.*

6 (VII) palaka[masa i][1] . . . [tvan] va [sa]kya pāpotave (/*) (IX) khudakena pi

7 palakamamīnenā vipule pi svaga [sa]kye ālādhetave (/*) (X) etāye aṭhāye

8 [i]yaṁ sāvane (/*) (XI) khudakā ca [uḍā]lā ca pa[la]kamaṁtū (/*) (XII) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtū (/*)

9 (XIII) [c]ila-ṭhītike ca palakame hotū (/*) (XIV) iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisati vipulaṁ pi ca

10 vaḍhisatī diyaḍhi[yaṁ a]valadhiyā vaḍhisatī (/*) (XV) esa sāvane vivuthe[na]

11 [du]ve sapaṁnnā-lāti-sati aṁ maṁ[c]e Budhasa salīle āloḍhe [ti][2]

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. .... पियो (/*) II. साति (2) .... (/*) III. [साधिका][नि*] अढ(3)तियानि संवछलानि अं उपासके सुमि*] (/*) IV. [नो*] च बाढं पलकंते (/*) (4) V. [संवछले साधिके अं सुमि हकं संघ उपेत बाढं*] च पलकंते (/*) VI. एतेन (5) [अं]त[ले][न*] [जंबु-दीपसि अमिसंदेवा सन्त मुनिसा*] मिसंदेवा कटा (/*) (6) VII. पलक[मस इ][यं फले*] (/*) VIII. [नो हीयं मह*]त्वन व [स]क्य पापोतवे (/*) IX. खुदकेन पि (7) पलकममीनेना विपुले पि स्वग [स]क्ये आलाधेतवे (/*) X. एताये अठाये (8) [इ]यं सावने (/*) XI. खुदका च [उडा]ला च पलकमंतू (/*) XII. अंता पि च जानंतू (/*) (9) XIII. [चि]ल-ठीतीके च पलकमे होतू (/*) XIV. इयं च अठे वढिसति विपुलं पि च (10) वढिसती दियढि[यं अ]वलधिया वढिसती (/*) XV. एस सावने विवुथे[न] (11) [दुवे सपंना-लाति-सति अं मंचे बुधस सलीले आलोढे [ति।]

TRANSLATION

(I) Devānāmpriya . . . .

(II) It is for a little over . . . .

(III) It is for a little over [two years and a half that I am a lay follower of the Buddha].

(IV) But I was [not] highly zealous [in the cause of Dharma at the beginning of the period for one year].

(V) [It is for a little over one year now that I am intimately associated[3] with the Saṅgha (Buddhist Church)] and am [highly] zealous [in the cause of Dharma].

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[1] The *akṣaras* lost here may be restored as *°yaṁ phale (/°) no h=iyaṁ maha°*.

[2] The stop is indicated by an oval sign joined to the right leg of the letter *ta*.

[3] For this meaning of the word *upeta, upagata, yāta* or *upayāta* used in different versions of the edict, see above; also references, below, p. 85, note.

(VI) During this period of time (i.e. a little over one year) [the people who were not commingled with the gods in Jambu-dvīpa (i.e. in Aśoka's empire)] have been made commingled with the gods.

(VII) This is [the result] of (my, i.e. Aśoka's) exertion [in the cause of Dharma].

(VIII) [This result is, however, not] to be achieved only by a rich man [like myself].

(IX) Even a poor man, who is zealous [in the cause of Dharma], is capable of obtaining even the great heaven.

(X) For this purpose (i.e. the purpose indicated below) is this declaration [made].

(XI) Let the poor and the rich exert [in the cause of Dharma].

(XII) Let the people of the areas bordering [on my empire] also know [about this exertion and its results].

(XIII) Let exertion [in the cause of Dharma] be everlasting.

(XIV) This matter (i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma) will increase — will increase even to a great extent — will increase more or less one and a half times.

(XV) This declaration [has been made by me while I am] on a tour [of pilgrimage] for 256 nights (i.e. days) since the relics of the Buddha ascended (i.e. were caused to be installed by me on) the platform [for worship].

II. Delhi version

Early in 1966, the discovery of a new inscription of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) near Delhi was reported in the newspapers. It was actually found within the village of Bahāpur to the south-east of Delhi.[1] The inscription is described as engraved on a flat but tilted rock surface of the quartzitic outcrop of the Aravalli. The discovery resulted from clues supplied by Sardar Jang Bahadur Singh who is a building contractor of Delhi. The inscription was identified as an Aśokan epigraph by M. C. Joshi and B. M. Pande of the Archaeological Survey. G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, copied the record in September, 1966, and was good enough to send me two impressions for editing it in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

The inscription is a version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I which was so far known from copies previously discovered at (1) Sahasrām in Bihar, (2) Ahraurā in Uttar Pradesh, (3-4) Rūpnāth and Gurjarrā in Madhya Pradesh, (5) Bairāṭ in Rajasthan, (6-11) Maski, Gavīmaṭh, Pālkīguṇḍa, Śiddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Brahmagiri in Karnataka and (12-13) Erragudi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri in Andhra Pradesh.

The discovery of the record near Delhi is interesting because, unlike the Delhi-Siwalik and Delhi-Meerut pillar inscriptions of Aśoka which were brought to Delhi from

[1] *JRAS*, 1967, pp. 96-98.

outside by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh (1351-88 A.D.) of the Tughluq dynasty, the Minor Rock Edict engraved on rock is *in situ*. This shows that there was a flourishing city in the vicinity of the inscription during Aśoka's time and that it was intended for the people of the said city. Considering the tradition about the ancient city of Indraprastha located near Delhi,[1] it appears that the Aśokan inscription under study was meant for the citizens of ancient Indraprastha. The present inscription thus indirectly proves that Indraprastha was one of the flourishing cities during the Maurya age.

In the present record, the inscribed space is marked by a deeply incised vertical line (about 3 feet in length) at the right hand side, though it is difficult to say whether it was engraved before or after the incision of the edict. The engraving of the letters of the inscription is rather shallow compared to that of the vertical line, and the lines of writing are not at right angle to the said line. The lines of the inscription are again of different length and their beginning and end are by no means uniform. Lines 1-2 and 5 end close to the vertical line; but such does not appear to be the case with lines 3-4, etc. The writing covers an area about 2 feet in height and between 2 feet 5 inches and 1 foot 4 inches in length.

There are altogether ten lines of writing in the inscription, the preservation of which is unsatisfactory, some *akṣaras* in most of the lines being totally rubbed off. Needless to say that, like the other versions of the edict, the present epigraph is written in the Early Brāhmī script and the Prakrit language. It has, however, to be noted that the *akṣaras* are not of uniform size and, in some cases, the letters and signs exhibit cursive forms; *e.g.*, *va* in *Devānaṁpiye* (line 1); *ha* in *hake* (line 2; cf. *mahatven=eva* in line 6); the *e-mātrā* in *te* in *etena* (line 4); *la* in *ālādhetave* (line 7) and *uḍālā* (line 8); the *i-mātrā* in *ti* in *vaḍhisati* (line 10); etc. The back of *da* is sometimes angular (cf. *Detvānaṁpiya* in line 1 and *diyaḍhiyaṁ* in line 16) and often roundish. There is no uniformity in the space between any two *akṣaras*: cf. *khudakā ca uḍālā ca palakamaṁtu* (line 8) in which there is no extra space between *kā* and *ca* and between *lā* and *ca* while the space between *ca* and *u*, between *u* and *ḍā*, between *ca* and *pa* and between *maṁ* and *tu* is considerably wider than that between any other two *akṣaras* in the record. This lack of uniformity puts us in some difficulty in conjecturing the number of lost *akṣaras* in the damaged sections of the inscriptions. The orthographical and linguistic peculiarities exhibited by the inscription are also noticed in some other versions of the edict. This language is usually called the Māgadhī dialect of Prakrit speech.

As regards the draft of the inscription, it generally follows the Bairāṭ version of the edict, but exhibits some variations. Interesting is the use of the word *hamaye* for Sanskrit *mayā*, 'by me', in line 3 in place of *mamayā* found in the Bairāṭ text. We know that the Aśokan edicts use the words *me*, *mayā*, *mama*, *mamā*, *mamayā*, *mamāye*, *mamiyā*, *mamiyāye*, etc., in the above sense. The word *mayā* may be also used in the present version in line 2. In place of *siyā* (Sanskrit *syāt*) and *hotu* (Sanskrit *bhavatu*) of the

[1] Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, 1971, pp. 30 (note 2), 99. Indraprastha is located at the site now called Purāṇā Qilā.

other versions, we have here *hotī* (line 9) which reminds us of *hoti* in the Śiddāpura version. Sanskrit *śakya* has been made *cake* in line 6 and *sakā*(*ke*) in line 7. The word *bāḍhiṁ* (lines 2 and 3) for Sanskrit *bāḍham* may be compared to *bāḍhi* in the Rūpnāth version of the edict (lines 1 and 2).

The well-known geographical name Jambu-dvīpa occurs in the inscription. In early Indian literature, this name is applied to 'the earth' as well as to the land between the sea in the south, east and west and the Himādri in the north. In the inscriptions of Aśoka, the name of Jambu-dvīpa and the word *pṛthivī* appear to have been used to indicate the Maurya kingdom.[1]

TEXT[2]

1 I. Devāna[ṁ]piye ahā (/*) II. sātilekāni [a]ḍhā[3]tiyāni

2 vasāni yaṁ hake[4] upāsake (/*) III. no ca bāḍhiṁ palakate ma[5] (/*) IV. sātileke

3 savachale aṁ hamaye [saṁgha upayatā][6] bāḍhiṁ ca[7]

4 palakaṁte (/*) V. etena aṁta[lena] ...[8] bu-[dipa]si [ye] [a]m[i]s[ā] dev[e]h[i][9]

5 saṁtaṁ manūs[ā] mis[ā] deve[hi] (/*) VI. [pa] ...[10] [esa] ...[11] (/*) VII. [no ca] esā

6 mahatven=eva ca[ke] pāpotave (/*) VIII. khudake[na] p[i] pala ... ne ...[12]

7 svage sakā[13] āladhetave (/*) IX. i[mā]ya a[ṭhāya] iyaṁ sā[va]ne (/*)

8 X. khudakā ca uḍālā ca palakamaṁtu (/*) XI. ...[14] [pi] ca [jā]naṁtu (/*)

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[1] See Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 33.

[2] From impressions.

[3] *Vā* had been originally engraved and was somehow changed to *ḍhā*.

[4] The upper end of the left limb of the letter is slightly curved to the left and seems to end in a dot.

[5] There appear to be traces of an *akṣara* after this letter. The intended reading may be *me* or *mayā*.

[6] The intended reading may be *upayāta*. There is some space between *ya* and *tā* and also after *tā*. It is difficult to say whether a letter was incised between *tā* and *bā*.

[7] After this letter, there appear to be traces of two *akṣaras* which may be *eta* (Sanskrit *atra* through an intermediate form like *°itra*) meaning 'in this matter'. But it is difficult to say whether a word like this was really engraved.

[8] The *akṣara jaṁ* must have been engraved here. The space between *na* and the expected *jaṁ* appears to be considerable.

[9] The traces of about two *akṣaras* after this have probably to be ignored.

[10] The damaged words are apparently *palakamasa hi*.

[11] The damaged word here is *phale*.

[12] The damaged word is no doubt *palakamaminena*. This may have been followed in the original by the words *vipule pi*, though there are no clear traces of such letters.

[13] The inended reading seems to be *sake*.

[14] The lost *akṣaras* are apparently *aṁtā*.

9 XII. cila-ṭhitike palaka[me] [ho]ti (/*) XIII. e ...[1] ca aṭhe vipulaṁ pi vaḍhisati

10 diyaḍhiyaṁ pi vaḍhisati (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. देवा[नं]पिये अहा (/*) II. सातिलेकानि [अ]ढातियानि (2) वसानि यं हके उपासकै (/*) III. नो च बाढि पलकते म[मे] (/*) IV. सातिलेके (3) सवछले अं हमये [संघ उपयता] बाढि च (4) पलकते (/*) V. एतेन अंत[लेन] [जं*] बु-[दिप]सि [ये अमिसा] दे[वेहि] (5) संत मनु[सा] मि[सा] देवे[हि] (/*) VI. [प][लकमस*] [एस] [फले*] (/*) VII. [नो च] एसा (6) महत्वेनेव च[कें] पापोतवे (/*) VIII. खुदके[न पि] पल[कममी*]ने[न*] (7) स्वगे सका आलाधेतवे (/*) IX. इ[मा]य अ[ठाय] इयं सा[व]ने (/*) (8) X. खुदका च उडाला च पलकमंतु (/*) XI. [अंता*] [पि] च [जा]नंतु (/*) (9) चिलठितिके पलक[मे हो]ती (/*) XIII. ए[त*] च अठे विपुलं पि वढिसति (10) दियढियं पि वढिसति (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) The Beloved of the Gods says:

(II) A little more than two years and a half have passed since I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e., a lay follower of the Buddha).

(III) But no vigorous exertion [in the cause of Dharma] was made by me [from the time of my initiation].

(IV) It is more than a year, since I have been devoutly attached[2] to the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church), that vigorous exertion has been made [by me].

(V) Those men, who were unmingled with the gods in Jambu-dvīpa during the past age, have been mixed with the gods.[3]

(VI-VII) [This is indeed the result of my exertion]. And this [result] is not to be achieved [only] by the people of superior position.

(VIII) Even a poor man, who is zealous [in the cause of Dharma], is capable of attaining the [great] heaven.

(IX-X) This declaration is for the [following] purpose. Let [both] the big and the small exert themselves [in the cause of Dharma].

(XI) And let even the Antas (people of the bordering States) know [about the good result of exertion in the cause of Dharma].

(XII-XIII) And let exertion [in the cause of Dharma] be everlasting. And this matter (i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma) among the people will increase enormously; it will increase even to one and half times.

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[1] The damaged word appears to be *eta*.

[2] For the meaning of *upayāta*, etc., see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 161ff.; also *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, p. 49, note 2; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287ff.; also above.

[3] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, p. 49, note 4; Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 27, note 1; also above.

CHAPTER V

CENTRAL VERSION OF MRE I AT GUJARRĀ

The hamlet of Gujarrā lies in the Datia District of Madhya Pradesh, near the village of Parāśarī on the Datiā-Unāo road, about 11 miles to the south-east of Datiā and 12 miles to the north of Jhānsī in U.P. At a little distance from the hamlet, there is a hill locally known as *Siddhoṃ-kī-ṭoriyāṃ* or 'the rocks of the Perfected Ones'. The inscription under notice is engraved on a boulder lying at the foot of the said hill.

The inscription was discovered by Lal Chand Sharma, a forest contractor of Jhānsī, who by chance came upon the inscribed rock while out a-hunting. Sharma showed some indistinct photographs and inaccurate eye-copies of the record to B. Ch. Chhabra, then Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, at New Delhi, on the 30th November 1953. A glance at them was enough for Chhabra to recognise that the epigraph was one of the Rock Edicts of the celebrated Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) and naturally he pressed Sharma for information regarding its exact findspot, so that he could visit the place in order to examine the inscription and take inked estampages of it for study and publication. But Sharma, who was under the impression that the document contained a clue to the existence of a hidden treasure in its neighbourhood, was not prepared to give the required information unless Chhabra would agree to share with him the treasure when brought to light as a result of his study of the record. Chhabra tried to convince him that such epigraphs do not contain any information regarding buried treasures, but in vain. He, however, followed up the question until, thanks to the interest taken in the matter by J. B. Lall, then Collector-in-Charge of Jhānsī, Lal Chand Sharma and his younger brother, Lakhpat Ram Sharma, Muicipal Commissioner of Jhānsī, ultimately agreed to disclose the name of the findspot of the epigraph. They requested Chhabra to reach Jhānsī on the 15th of November 1954 for being escorted to the spot. Although Chhabra could not visit the place on that date, the two Sharma brothers took Lall to Gujarrā to show the inscription, and the discovery was announced in some daily newspapers. On the 5th December 1954, Chhabra visited the village in the company of Lall, S. K. Sen then Additional Deputy Commissioner of the Datia District, K. N. Puri, then Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Āgrā (Northern Circle), and the two Sharma brothers. He carefully examined the record and took inked impressions and photographs of it. Soon afterwards he incorporated the results of his study of the epigraph in a paper which was read at the Ahmedābād Session of the Indian History Congress in the last week of December 1954. In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions in the winter of 1954-55, I visited Gujarrā for an exmination of the record on the 5th of February, 1955. Some time later Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal a copy of his unpublished paper as well

as his tentative transcript of the epigraph[1] and in February 1956 he was so good as to permit me to edit the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

The area occupied by the writing on the face of the boulder measures about 9 feet 5 inches in length and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There are only five lines of writing. An *akṣara* is about 4 inches in height. Lines 2-5 begin from a distance of about 6 inches towards the left of the commencement of line 1. The fifth line, with which the epigraph ends, is shorter than the other lines. The letters are carefully engraved. But the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some letters at the end of line 4 and the beginning of lines 5 are very badly damaged. Indeed, it appears from the stone that line 4 stops a few inches towards the left of the end of the preceding lines. Even in other parts of the record, there are many letters and signs which are indistinct.

The characters, which are early Brāhmī as expected, are slightly longish in shape as in some of Aśoka's Pillar Edicts such as those on the Delhi-Toprā and Lauriyā-Nandangarh pillars. The inscription is another version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I. The language of this edict has been called the Magadha dialect found in the Pillar Edicts as well as the RE at Eṛragudi, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa ; but it has been noticed that *ra* has not been changed to *la* in all the cases in some of the central versions such as those at Rūpnāth and Maski, while it has been retained in the Southern versions like those elsewhere in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh.[2] There is no orthographical peculiarity which is not already known from other inscriptions of Aśoka. In several cases, medial *ā*, *ī* and *ū* have been used respectively for medial *a*, *i* and *u*. The consonant *ra* has not been changed to *la* except in *cila-thitike* in line 4. *Ca* has been used for *śa* in *cakiye* (Sanskrit *śakyam*, *śakyaḥ*). A point of grammatical interest is offered by the verb *'smi* (Sanskrit *asmi*) in the place of *sumi* found in the same context in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and Maski versions of the edict. The word *saṁvachara* has been used in the neuter gender. The case-ending *e* has been used for both Masculine Nominative Singular and Neuter Nominative and Accusative Singular. Both the suffixes for the Active and Middle forms of the Present Participle have been used ; but the suffix for the Middle form takes the shape of *mīna* in the place of Sanskrit *māna* as in some cases in other texts. It is interesting to note that the Participles *caraṁ* (Active) and *caramīna* (Middle) have been formed from the same root. The old form of the Infinitive Mood is noticed in *pāpotave* and *ārādhayitave*.

The inscription begins with the sentence : *Dev[ānaṁ] piya[sa] Piyadasino Asokarājasa* (Sanskrit : *Devānāmpriyasya Priyadarśinaḥ Aśokarājasya*), "Of Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin Aśokarāja." A word like *śrāvaṇam*, 'proclamation', is understood in the context. The same is the case with the Maski version of the edict. It is well known that, in his inscriptions, Aśoka generally calls himself 'king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin' or 'Devānāmpriya' or 'king Priyadarśin', and that, among the published inscriptions of the Maurya emperor, the version of Minor Rock Edict I at Maski alone was formerly known to have mentioned him by his

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[1] Chhabra's paper together with his transcript of the inscription appeared in due course in *Proc. IHC*, Ahmedabad, pp. 65-71.

[2] Cf. *CII*, Vol. I, pp. cxxiii, cxxix.

personal name Aśoka. The Gujarrā version of the edict, which calls him Aśokarāja, is thus the second of his known epigraphic records mentioning him by his personal name.

The next sentence of the inscription reads : *a[ḍha]tiyāni sa[ṁ]vacharāni upāsak[e] =s[m]i* (Sanskrit : *ardhatṛtīyān saṁvatsarān* [*vyāpya aham*] *upāsakaḥ asmi*), "I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two years and a half." The word *sādhikāni* or *sātirekāni* qualifies *aḍhatiyāni* in the corresponding sentence in the other versions suggesting that, when Minor Rock Edict I was issued, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* for a little more than two and half years and not exactly for only two years and a half as stated in the present version. The omission seems to be due to oversight either of the scribe or of the engraver. Most other versions add to this a sentence saying that Aśoka was not energetic in the practice and propagation of Dharma during the whole of this period of a little over two and half years. The Chitaldrug (Chitradurga) versions of the edict clearly state that this period of inactivity on the part of Aśoka lasted for one year. The following sentence of the edict says that he worked zealously in the cause of Dharma only for a little over one year forming the latter part of the said period of his *upāsakatva* till the date of the proclamation.

The third sentence runs as follows : *sādhike sa[ṁ]vacha[re] ya ca me Saṁghe y[ā]te tī [aha]ṁ bāḍha[ṁ] ca parakaṁte tī* [*ā*]*hā* (Sanskrit : *sādhikaṁ saṁvatsaraṁ* [*vyāpya*] *yat ca mayā Saṅghaḥ yātaḥ iti ahaṁ bāḍhaṁ parākrāntaḥ iti āha*), "Saith he, 'It is a little more than one year that I have been associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic [in the practice and propagation of Dharma]." The wording of the sentence is different from that in the other versions. There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars as regards the meaning of the word *yāta* indicating Aśoka's relation with the Buddhist Church. In the place of *yāta*, some versions have *upayāta*, *upagata* or *upeta*. The sentence is in the passive in some versions (e.g. *mayā Saṅghaḥ yātaḥ*) and in the active in others (e.g. *ahaṁ Saṅghaṁ yātaḥ*). Some scholars think that the reference is to a visit that Aśoka paid to the Buddhist Church. But this is improbable as the Present Tense in the verb *sumi*, 'I am' or 'I have been', in the corresponding passage, e.g., in the Rūpnāth version (*sātireke cu chavachare ya sumi hakaṁ Sagha upeta*, Sanskrit : *sātirekaṁ ca tu saṁvatsaraṁ yat asmi ahaṁ Saṅghaṁ upetaḥ*), would suggest that the action indicated by *yāta*=*upayāta*=*upagata*=*upeta* with reference to Aśoka's relation with the Saṅgha was a continuous event lasting for over a year immediately preceding the date of the edict. To obviate this difficulty, some scholars take *upeta* and its equivalents to mean 'entered' and think that Aśoka became a Buddhist monk or at least a *bhikṣu-gatika* or *gṛhastha-muni*. That, however, Aśoka was an *upāsaka* and not a monk at the time of the promulgation of the edict is clear from the Present Tense used in *asmi* in the second sentence of the inscription already discussed above. On the date of the proclamation, Aśoka could not have been staying in the Church for more than a year as the edict is stated to have been issued on the 257th day of a tour which he had undertaken for the propagation of Dharma, the period covered by the tour being eight

months and a half. We have elsewhere[1] suggested that *yāta=upayāta=upagata=upeta* has been used here in the sense of *saṅgata*, 'intimately associated', and that it speaks of Aśoka's close contact with the Buddhist Church, which began more than a year before the promulgation of the edict.

Some scholars think that the second and third sentences of the edict speak of two different stages of Aśoka's *upāsakatva*, the first covering more than 2½ years when he was not zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma and the second covering more than a year when he was exerting himself in the cause of Dharma. This would suggest that, by the time when the edict was issued, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* for nearly four years. But this is unlikely in view of the fact that Aśoka uses the Present Tense in connection with the period of more than 2½ years giving the duration of his *upāsakatva* till the date of the edict and also with the period of more than a year (immediately preceding the said date) when he was zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma but that he uses the Past Tense (Aorist) in connection with the period of one year when he was not exerting himself in the cause of Dharma (cf. Brahmagiri version : *no tu kho bāḍhaṁ prakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ savacharaṁ*=Sanskrit : *no tu khalu bāḍhaṁ prakrāntaḥ abhūvam ekaṁ saṁvatsaram*).

The fourth sentence reads : *etenā aṁtarenā Jaṁbu-dīpasi Devāna[ṁ]pīya[sa a]misaṁ-devā saṁto munisa misaṁ-devā kaṭā* (Sanskrit : *etena antareṇa Jambu-dvīpe Devānāmpriyasya amiśra-devāḥ santaḥ manuṣyāḥ miśra-devāḥ kṛtāḥ*, "Devānaṁpriya's men (i.e. subjects) in Jambu-dvīpa, who were unmingled with gods during this period, have been [by him] mingled with gods." The wording of the sentence is not the same in all the versions. The use of *Devānāmpriyasya* in this context is a peculiarity of the Gujarrā text of the edict. In some versions, men who had been formerly unmingled with gods are represented as mingled with the latter, while, in others, gods are represented as having been formerly unmingled with men and later mingled with them. Jambu-dvīpa here apparently indicates the empire of Aśoka. The following sentence makes it clear that the result of the practice and propagation of Dharma on the part of Aśoka was claimed to be this mingling of his subjects with gods.

The commingling of gods and men has been understood differently by different scholars. H. P. Sastri's interpretation[2] of *Devāḥ* as 'the Brāhmaṇas' is based on a misunderstanding of the corresponding sentence of the Rūpnāth version of the edict and has now been given up. Sylvain Lévi and Filliozat take *deva* to mean 'a king'.[3] But it is difficult to believe that Aśoka who claimed to have been 'beloved of the gods' would have thought it proper to refer to his own self (or,to kings including himself) as a god. He could hardly have been unconscious of the ambiguity that would result from the use of the

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[1] See above, pp. 64-65 : also *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 1 (revised edition), 1958, p. 24.

[2] *JPASB*, 1910, pp. 259ff.

[3] See *Journ. As.*, Tome CCXXXVII, 1949, pp. 225ff. See also comments on some of Filliozat's suggestions in *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, op. cit., p. 26 and note 2 ; p. 27, note 1. Cf. above.

word in a sense which is not its normal meaning. F. W. Thomas thinks that Aśoka brought the Brāhmaṇical gods to the knowledge of wild tribes and other backward peoples who had formerly no knowledge of them.[1] But Aśoka's Dharma had really little to do with the Brāhmaṇical gods, and the claim seems to refer to his subjects in general. According to E. Hultzsch, *devāḥ* here means *divyāni rūpāṇi* of Rock Edict IV, meaning 'gods *in effigie*' which Aśoka exhibited to his subjects. But Rock Edict IV really says that Aśoka's *dharmānuśasti* achieved better result in promoting Dharma among the people than the religious exhibitions conducted by earlier kings had attained. The correct interpretation of the passage in question has been offered by D. R. Bhandarkar who thinks that Aśoka led men in the path of Dharma so that they became fit to be commingled with gods not only in heaven but also in this life.[2] This interpretation seems to be supported by the passage *yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū* occurring in the latter part of the present version of the edict.[3]

The next sentence runs as follows : *parakamasa iyaṁ phale* (Sanskrit : *parākramasya idaṁ phalam*), "This is the result of [his] exertion [in the practice and propagation of Dharma]." The exertion relates to Aśoka's activities during the period of more than a year immediately before the date of the edict, which is referred to in the third sentence discussed above.

The sixth and seventh sentences of the inscription read : *no [ca i]yaṁ mahatenā ti va cakiye pāpotave (/*) khudākeṇa pī parakamamīneṇā dhaṁmaṁ caramīneṇā pānesū saṁyatenā vipule pi svage cakiye ārādhayitave* (Sanskrit : *no ca idaṁ mahatā iti eva śakyaṁ prāptum/kṣudrakeṇa api parākramamāṇena dharmaṁ caratā prāṇeṣu saṁyatena vipulaḥ api svargaḥ śakyaḥ ārādhyayitum*), "It is not that the rich man alone is able to obtain this [result]. Even a poor man, who exerts himself, practise [the duties associated with] Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, is able to attain even the great heaven." Aśoka here says that the brilliant result obtained by him by dint of his exertion in the practice and propagation of Dharma can also be achieved by a poor man and that it is not a monopoly of a rich man like himself. The wording of these two sentences is not the same in the different versions. By 'great heaven', Aśoka may have understood a station higher than the world of the gods.

The next sentence reads : *s[e] etāye aṭhā[ye] iyaṁ sāvaṇe* (Sanskrit : *tat etasmai arthāya idaṁ śrāvaṇam*), "Therefore this proclamation is [being issued by me] for this [following] purpose." The twofold purpose is indicated in the next two sentences.

The first of the two purposes is indicated in the sentence which reads : *khudāke cā uḍāre cā dhaṁmaṁ caraṁtū [yo]gaṁ yuṁjaṁtū* (Sanskrit : *kshudrakaḥ ca udāraḥ ca dharmaṁ caratām, yogaṁ yuñjatām*). "Let the poor and the rich [both] practise [the duties associated with] Dharma and effect [their] association [with gods thereby]." Aśoka's first

[1] *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 505.

[2] *ABORI*, Vol. X, pp. 246ff.

[3] This question has been also discussed above, pp. 67-68.

purpose for issuing the proclamation was that his subjects, both poor and rich, should emulate him in the practice of Dharma (which, in his view, included the propagation of Dharma) and this, he believed, would make them fit for commingling with the gods. In the place of this sentence, other versions have, "Let [both] the poor and the rich exert themselves [in the cause of Dharma]." The passage *yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū* added in the present version to what corresponds to the above sentence of the other versions is of considerable importance as it throws welcome light on the interpretation of the controversial reference to the commingling of gods and men in the earlier part of the edict.

The second purpose underlying the proclamation is indicated in the next sentence which reads : *aṁtā pi cā jānaṁtū kiṁ ti* .... *enaṁ* [*vā*] *dh*[*ṁ*]*maṁ cara*[*ṁ*] *ati-*[*yo*] (Sanskrit : *antāḥ api ca jānantu — kim iti —* .... [*janaḥ*] *enaṁ eva Dharmaṁ caran atīva*), "Let the people outside the borders [of my dominions] also know that .... if [people] practise the [duties associated with] this Dharma alone to a considerable degree." The message to the *antāḥ* or peoples living beyond the borders of Aśoka's empire is also found in most other versions. But the wording of the present text is different. Unfortunately, many of the *akṣaras* in this part are damaged and the meaning of the section is not absolutely certain. We have tried below to restore the lost words on the basis of the wording in the other versions. In matters like the promotion of Dharma, Aśoka made no distinction between his own subjects and foreigners. To him all men were like his children.

The last sentence of the inscription reads : *iyaṁ* [*ca*] *sāvana vivuthe*[*na 256*] (Sanskrit : *idaṁ ca śrāvaṇaṁ vyuṣitena 256*), "And this proclamation is [being issued by me when I have been] on tour [for] 256 [days]." The word *vivutha* (Pali *vivuttha*) stands for Sanskrit *vyuṣita*. The corresponding sentence in the Sahasrām version makes its meaning absolutely clear : *duve sapaṁnā lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256* which stands for Sanskrit : *dve ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-rātri-śate vyuṣitaḥ* [*aham*] *iti 256*. This tour seems to be one of the early *Dharma-yātrās* (i.e. tours for the propagation of Dharma) instituted by king Aśoka ten years after his coronation (i.e. in the eleventh year of his reign, corresponding roughly to 259-258 B.C.) and particularly referred to in Rock Edict VIII. It may be believed that Minor Rock Edict I is the earliest of Aśoka's proclamations on matters relating to Dharma first issued 12 years after his coronation, i.e. about 257-256 B.C.

TEXT[1]

1 (I) Dev[ānaṁ]piya[sa] Piyadasino Asokarājasa (/*) (II) a[ḍha]tiyāni sa[ṁ]vacharāni[2] upāsak[e]=s[m]i (/*) (III) sādhike sa[ṁ]vacha[re] ya ca me Saṁghe y[ā]te ti [aha]ṁ bā-

2 ḍha[ṁ] ca parakaṁte tī [ā]hā (/*) (IV) etenā aṁtarenā Jaṁbu-dīpasi Devāna[ṁ]piya-

[1] From impressions.

[2] In the place of *ni*, *no* seems to have been originally engraved.

[sa a]misaṁ-devā saṁto[1] munisa misaṁ-devā kaṭā (/*) (V) parakamasa iyaṁ phale (/*) (VI) no [ca i]yaṁ mahatenā ti va

3 cakiye pāpotave (/*) (VII) khudākeṇa pī parakamamīnenā dhaṁmaṁ caramīnenā pānesū saṁyatenā vipule pī svage cakiye ārādhayitave (/*) (VIII) s[e] etāye

4 aṭhā[ye] iyaṁ sāvaṇe (/*) (IX) khudāke cā uḍāre cā dhaṁmaṁ caraṁtū [yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū (/*) (X) aṁtā pi cā jānaṁtū kiṁti ca[2] cila-th[iti]ke dhaṁma-ca ....[3]

5 ... [si]ti[4] [ca] enaṁ [va] dha [ṁ]maṁ cara[ṁ][5] ati[yo] (/*) (XI) iyaṁ [ca] sāvana vivuthe[na 200] 50 6 (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. दे[वानं]पिय[स] पियदसिनो असोकराजस (/*) II. अ[ड]तियानि [सं]वछरानि उपास[के(ऽ*)स्मि] (/*) III. साधिके संवछ[रे] य च मे संघे [या]ते ती [अहं] बा(2)[ढं] च परकते ती [आ]हा (/*) IV. एतेना अंतरेना जंबु-दीपसि देवा[नं]पीय[स अ]मिसं-देवा संतो मुनिस मिसं-देवा कटा (/*) V. परकमसं इयं फले (/*) VI. नो [च इ]यं महतेना ति व (3) चकिये पापोतवे (/*) VII. खुदाकेण पी परकममीनेना धमं चरमीनेना पानेसू संयतेना विपुले पी स्वगे चकिये आराधयितवे (/*) VIII. [से] एताये (4) अठा[ये] इयं सावणे (/*) IX. खुदाके चा उडारे चा धंमं चरंतु [यो]गं युंजंतु (/*) X. अंता पि चा जानतु किंति च चिल-[थिति]के धमं-च[रणे होसति*] (/*) XI. [इयं अठे*] (5) [वढि*][सि]ति [च] एनं [वा] [धं]मं च[र] अति[यो] (/*) XII. इयं [च] सावन विवुथे[न २००] ५० ६ (/*)

TRANSLATION

(I) [This is a proclamation] of Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin Aśokarāja.

(II) I have been [now] an *upāsaka* (*i.e.* a lay follower of the Buddha) for two and half years.

(III) Saith he, "It is [now] more than a year that the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church) has been intimately associated with me and that I have been exerting myself [in the cause of Dharma]."

(IV) Devānāmpriya's men (*i.e.* subjects) in Jambu-dvīpa, who had been unmingled with the gods during this period, were made [by him] mingled with the gods.

(V) This is the result of [his] exertion [in the cause of Dharma].

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[1] This *akṣara* had been originally omitted and was later inserted in the small space between the preceding and following *akṣaras*.

[2] This *akṣara* should better be read after *cila-thitike*.

[3] The intended reading of the sentence may be *cila-thitike ca dhaṁma-caraṇe hotu* (Sanskrit: *cira-sthitikaṁ ca dharma-caranaṁ bhavatu*). Cf. e.g., *cila-thitike ca palakame hotu* (Sanskrit: *cira-sthitikaḥ ca parākramaḥ bhavatu*) in the Sahasrām version. However, we prefer *hosati* to *hotu* in the present case.

[4] The intended reading may be *vaḍhisiti* (Sanskrit: *vardhiṣyate*). As suggested by other versions of the edict, the lost words before *vaḍhisiti* may be *iyaṁ aṭhe* (Sanskrit: *ayam arthaḥ*).

[5] The Participle in the Nominative Singular has to be taken with a word like *jane* (Sanskrit *janaḥ*). Cf. *hevaṁ ve kalaṁtaṁ* (Sanskrit: *evaṁ yūyaṁ kurvantaḥ*) in the Maski version.

(VI) It is not that this [result] can be obtained by the rich man alone.

(VII) Even the poor man, if he exerts himself [in the cause of Dharma], practises [the duties associated with] Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, can attain even the great heaven.

(VIII) Therefore this proclamation is [issued by me] for this [following] purpose.

(IX) Let [both] the poor and the rich practise [the duties associated with] Dharma [and] effect [thereby their] association [with the gods].

(X) Let the peoples living beyond the borders [of my empire] also known that the practice of Dharma [will be] everlasting. (XI) [This matter] will increase if [one] practises [the duties associated with] this Dharma alone to a considerable degree."

(XII) And this proclamation [is issued by me when I have been] on tour [for] 256 [days].

CHAPTER VI

WESTERN VERSION OF MRE I AT PĀNGURĀRIĀ

Some time ago, report reached us that a rock inscription of Aśoka had been discovered at the village of Pāngurāriā (really *Pānguḍāriyāṃ*) in the Budhni Tahsil of the Sehore District, Madhya Pradesh. It was found in a rock shelter on a slope at the southern side of the Vindhyan range in 22° 43′ N and 77° 43′ E in a forest unit named after the said village. The hill is called Saro-Maro or Saru-Maru. Under instructions from Shri M. N. Deshpande, Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, Shri P. R. Shrinivasan, Chief Epigraphist-in-charge, Mysore, was good enough to send me one set each of the inked impressions and photographs of the Pāngurāriā inscription in March, 1976, for editing the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I was informed at the time that the discovery of the record had been made by a team of three archaeologists belonging to the Prehistory Branch of the Survey stationed at Nagpur. They are Shri B. P. Bopardikar, Technical Assistant, and his colleagues, Shri P. R. K. Prasad and Shri A. J. Nambhiraju. At the same time Dr. K. D. Banerjee, Superintending Archaeologist, Prehistory Branch, wrote to me that no satisfactory estampage of the writing was possible because of the roughness of the rock surface and that their photographs taken by the Survey officials were better for the purpose of decipherment. On an examination of the material received from Shri Srinivasan, I found that Dr. Banerjee was right. Of course, I succeeded in completing a tentative transcript of the inscrpition with the help of the impressions and photographs received from Shri Srinivasan. In July, 1976, I received two sets of good photographs of the inscription from Dr. K. D. Banerjee who also sent me soon afterwards another group of bigger photographs with a description of the hillside and the situation of the writings. These enabled me to complete my paper, though the transcript was revised with the help of fresh impressions received from Shri Srinivasan a few months later.

The rock shelter stands at a height of 21 m. from the ground at the foot of the hill, which is about 304 m. above the sea level and slopes gradually down to the Narmadā. The hill side is studded with the remains of about thirty monasteries constructed on platforms made of dressed stones, the remains of a big *stūpa* (about 65 m. in diameter) lying below the bottom of the hill. There are also similar remains of a number of monastic cells and other constructions. The said rock shelter is on a platform which is the second from below and has some *stūpas* in front of it. It has an overhanging rock and a vertical uneven back wall which is horizontally broken into two parts due to weathering. Its floor is paved with natural and dressed slabs and there is a thick wall which is made of rubbles and may have been raised to give a support to the overhanging rock serving as a roof for the shelter. The main inscription is engraved in two parts on a section of the lower half of the back wall. There are three lines of writing in the first part and five lines in the second part starting from about 27 cm. to the left of the beginning of those of the first and 4 cm.

to the right of the left margin of the rock. This means that a considerable space in the upper left corner of the area was left out as unsuitable for incising letters on it.[1]

The lines of writing in the first part are 90 cm. long. The *akṣaras* are not of uniform size either in the first or in the second part. The length of the full lines in the second part is between 106 and 108 cm. though the second half of lines 4-6 is completely peeled off as is also the case with a considerable portion of the latter half of lines 7-8. The gaps between the lines is not uniform in eiher of the two parts of the edict.

Another section of the inscription in fairly big characters is engraved in the upper half of the wall on the uneven surface of the facade at a height of 4.25 m. from the floor level of the shelter. However, due to change in the alignment of the wall, the main edict faces the south, while this part faces the south-west. The area occupied by it is 55 cm. in width and 50 cm. in height. Beacuse the overhanging rock has a leakage at the joint above the writing of this section, the inscription has been suffering for a very long time from the flow of rain water and the growth of lichen, so that most of the letters became visible only after chemical treatment.

The Pāngurāriā inscription is the fifteenth version of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka, the earlier fourteen versions of which, as we know, were found at the following places within the dominions of the said emperor : (1) Ahraurā, Mirzapur District, U.P., (2) the village of Bahāpur near Delhi, (3) Bairāṭ, Jaipur District, Rajasthan, (4) Brahmagiri, Chitradurga District, Karnataka, (5) Eṟṟaguḍi, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh, (6) Gavīmaṭh near Koppal, Raichur District, Karnataka, (7) Gujarrā, Datia District, Madhya Pradesh, (8) Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, Chitradurga District, Karnataka, (9) Maski, Raichur District, Karnataka, (10) Pālkīguṇḍu near Gavīmaṭh in the same District of Karnataka, (11) Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh, (12) Rūpnāth, Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh, (13) Sahasrām, Rohtas[2] District, Bihar, and (14) Śiddāpura, Chitradurga District, Karnakata. Of these, the versions, which are at close proximity, were on the whole copied from the same draft, e.g., Nos. 4, 8 and 14 in the Chitradurga District, Nos. 6 and 10 in the Raichur District, and Nos. 5 and 11 in the Kurnool District. These three groups may be regarded as three versions which have their peculiarities like the other eight including the recently discovered Pāngurāriā version.

The Pāngurāriā text of Minor Rock Edict I is damaged and fragmentary. Since the inscription has been written here in three sections, it appears that the surface of the rock was found unsuitable for engraving the record in continuous lines of writing of a uniform size in a particular area. Of the three sections, the smallest one at the top consists of only five lines each having about five or six *akṣaras* of a fairly big size. This part, as we shall

[1] We know that, in the Gujarrā version of MRE I also, lines 2-5 begin from a distance of about six inches towards the left of the commencement of line 1.

[2] In Bihar, in several cases, two or three districts have been recently created out of an old District. The former Shahabad District is said to have been divided now into the Rohtas and Bhojpur Districts.

see below, forms a kind of preface to the edict proper just as an address is to a letter. The edict proper is engraved below in the other two sections in smaller characters. The inscribed surface is rough, and some letters are incised in depressions. The engraver must have faced considerable difficulty in incising the record.

In spite of its fragmentary nature, Minor Rock Edict I at Pāngurāriā is of exceptional importance because it exhibits some peculiarities from the points of view of language and contents as well as the arrangement of the text. As is expected, the language of the inscription is Prakrit and the script Early Brāhmī. The difference of the present text from the other versions of the edict will be seen from our discussion below, in the course of which we shall have to quote a few sentences from the various texts in explaining the contents of the present record.

It should be noted that the language is not the so-called Magadhan Prakrit, *ra* being retained and not changed to *la*. It is well known that the said change of *ra* to *la* characterises the language of the North Indian versions at Ahraurā, Bairāṭ, Delhi, and Sahasrām so that the Western version at Pāngurāriā is not found to follow the Northern texts in this respect. While the Southern texts at Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīguṇḍu as well as in the Chitradurga and Kurnool Districts exhibit the retention of Sanskrit *ra*, the Central versions at Gujarrā, Rūpnāth and Maski exhibit both the characteristics by retaining *ra* in some cases and modifying it in others. Thus Gujarrā is the northernmost place exhibiting the occasional retention of *ra* while Maski is the southernmost MRE showing the change of *ra* to *la* is some cases. Another important point in respect of the language of the Pāngurāriā version is that Sanskrit *yatra*, which is generally found as *yata* (*i.e. yatta*) in the iscriptions of Aśoka so far discovered and rarely also as *ata* with the change of *ya* to *a*, is found in the present record in the form *yatha* (*i.e. yattha* which is the usual Pali form of the word) in line 8, the said Pali form being regarded by scholars as a later development.[1] This type of modification, however, can possibly be traced in the records of Aśoka in the change of Sanskrit *atra* to *heta* and *hetā* which are often noticed in the edicts and in which the aspiration seems to have been transferred from the second to the first *akṣara*.[2] The change of *ha* to *he* (*attha* = *hatta* = *hetta*) is supposed to have developed from **itra* = *atra* on the analogy of *īdṛśa* = *hedisa*. Another peculiarity of the language of the Pāngurāriā version is the use of *yate* (Sanskrit *yataḥ* in place of *ya* (Rūpnāth, Bairāṭ and the Chitradurga versions), *yaṁ* (Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, Gavīmaṭh and Delhi versions) or *aṁ* (Sahasrām and Aharurā versions)—all standing for Sanskrit *yat*—in line 3. The expression *mahāpa-kāraṇena* (Sanskrit *mahātma-kāraṇena*, 'owing to the exalated position') is found elsewhere as *mahatatā* standing for Sanskrit *mahātmatvāt* and *mahatana*, *mahatpena* or *mahatena* which forms stand for Sanskrit *mahātmanā* ('by a person of exalted position'), etc. As regards the forms *vaḍhisiti* and *hositi* in lines 7 and 8, *vaḍhisiti* occurs several times at Rūpnāth and Ahraurā and in the Chitradurga and Raichur texts, and probably also in the Kurnool versions. The form *hositi* exhibits the influence of *vaḍhisiti*.

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[1] Cf. Childers' Dictionary, s.v.

[2] The aspiration in forms like *hesa* (Sanskrit *eṣa*) may be due to the influence of *heta*, etc.

As regards the importance of the inscription from the point of view of contents, it should be noted that, in this case, the edict is represented as addressed by Aśoka to the local governor who was a *Kumāra, i.e.* a scion of his family and probably not a son of his. We know from the two so-called Separate Kaliṅga Edicts (the second and first of which we call Rock Edicts XV and XVI) that such *Kumāras* were stationed at Tosalī in Kaliṅga and at Ujjayinī and probably also at Takṣaśilā which were apparently the headquarters respectively of the western and north-western provinces of Aśoka's empire. Pillar Edict VII (line 27), found only in the Delhi-Topra version, makes separate mention of the *dārakas* (*i.e.* Aśoka's own sons) and the other *devī-kumāras* probably including the sons of his stepmothers and the wives of his brothers and sons. We also know that the sons of the emperor were mentioned by the people as *Ārya-putra.* The relationship of the king with the *Ārya-putra* and with the *Kumāra* may have been different. In any case, the said part of the inscription under study reminds us of the fact that, of all the versions of Minor Rock Edict I so far known, only the three in the Chitradurga District of Karnataka (considerably peeled off at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara) begin with the passage—*Suvaṁṇagirīte Aya-putase Mahāmātānaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi Mahāmātā arogiyaṁ vataviyā* (/*) *Devāhaṁpiye ānapayati* (/*). This introduces Aśoka's message as communicated by the *Ārya-putra, i.e.* the king's son, who was the viceroy at Suvarṇagiri (near Eṟṟaguḍi in the Kurnool District, Andhra Predesh), and the *Mahāmātras* (*i.e.* the high class administrative officers) under him, to the *Mahāmātras* stationed at Isila (near the inscriptions in the Chitradurga District of Karnataka). Most of the other versions begin with "Says the Beloved of the Gods" or "Thus says the Beloved of the Gods" while at Maski and Gujarrā we have "[This is the order] of Aśoka or Aśokarāja, the Beloved of the Gods."

A comparison of the different versions of Minor Rock Edict I shows that some of them are drafted in fewer words than the others. The present version belongs to the shorter type. However, the most important change in respect of the arrangement of the text in the present version is that the reference to the issue of the edict by the king on the 256th night (i.e. day) when Aśoka was away from his capital in the course of a tour of pilgrimage is put at the beginning of the edict here. It is well known that this reference is found in either a short or an elaborate form only in the nine versions at Ahraurā, Gujarrā, Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, the three places in the Chitradurga District of Karnataka (peeled off at Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara) and the two places in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh ; but it comes at or about the end of the record in all these cases.

The first section of the inscription, forming a sort of preface as we have said above, reads : (1) *Piyadasi-nāma* (2) *rājā kumāra[sa]* (3) *Saṁvasa Māṇe*(4)*ma-dese* [*U*(or *O*)]*punitha-* (5) *vihāra-* [*ya*]*tāy*[*e*]. In Sanskrit—*Priyadarsi-nāmā rājā Kumārāya Śaṁvāya* [*uddiśya likhati*] *Māṇemadeśe U*(or *O*)*punitha-vihāra-yātrāyāḥ.* It has to be pointed out that the second *akṣara* in line 2 is clearly *jā* and not *ja* so that the reading of the line is not *rāja-kumārasa.* Although there is some sign of a damage at the end of line 1, the above fact further precludes the possibility of the reading *Piyadasinā ma*[*hā**]*rāja-kumārasa* in lines 1-2. Thus if an *akṣara* is really damaged at the end of line 1, it may have been *ko* so that the reading of lines 1-2 would be *Piyadasi-nāma*[*ko**] *raja-kumārasa,*

although no such *akṣara* may have been actually incised. There is again a mark at the end of line 3 after *Māṇe ;* if this is regarded as the remnant of an *akṣara* originally engraved at the place, the geographical name in question would be *Māṇe.ma-deśa* and not *Māṇema-deśa.* However, we are doubtful if such an *akṣara* was really engraved.

The earlier part of this section shows that it was an address of the king, whose name was Priyadarśin (i.e. king Aśoka), to the *Kumāra* (*i.e.* a member of the royal family, if not actually the king's son), named Śaṁva, who must have been stationed at a city that was situated in the vicinity of the inscribed rock at Pāngurāriā. The latter part of the section refers to one's *yātrā* or pilgrimage to a monastery called Upunitha-vihāra (or Opunitha-vihāra) situated in a territory, the name of which looks like Māṇema-deśa. Aśoka seems to have sent the copy of the edict engraved below to the *Kumāra* who was the viceroy of the region when the king was proceeding to the monastery in question in the course of his pilgrimage sometime after the promulgation of the edict. Thus the address would mean—"The king named Priyadarśin [writes] to *Kumāra* Śaṁva from [his] march [of pilgrimage] to the Upunitha (or Opunitha) monastery in Māṇema-deśa." It should better not be regarded as an order of the king asking the viceroy to visit the monastery in question. It is clear that the entire period of pilgrimage was not passed by Aśoka at one monastery or holy place. The importance of the Pāngurāriā inscription lies in the fact that this is the only Aśokan edict which mentions one of his governors by name and describes the king as 'named Priyadarśin'.

The first two sentences of our record after the above address read—*sāvanaṁ viyuthe*[*na*] *200 50 6* (/*) *Devānaṁpiye āṇapayati* (/*). In this *viyutha* = *vivutha* is Pali-Prakrit *vuttha* with *vi* prefixed to it, which is the same as *vasita* and *usita,* all the forms being derived from *vaseti* in the sense of 'to spend [time]'.[1] Thus the sentences would stand in Sanskrit as—[*idaṁ*] *śrāvaṇaṁ* [*kṛtaṁ mayā*] *vyuṣitena* 256 [*rātri-śate*] / *Devānām-priyaḥ ājñāpayati* / The declaration was thus issued by Aśoka when he had passed 256 nights (*i.e.* days) in the course of a tour of pilgrimage. This meaning is clear from some versions of the edict as we shall see below. That the word *āṇapayati* (Sanskrit *ājñāpayati*) is similar to *āha* is suggested by the fact that, of the similarly phrased versions in the Chitradurga District, Brahmagiri has *Devānaṁpiye āṇapayati,* while Śiddāpura shows *Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āha.*

As already indicated above, the first of the two sentences is found in some of the versions at or near about the end of the record. However, it appears either in a few words or in an elaborate statement. The present inscription offers the shortest form of the sentence. So long the shortest form of it was found as *iyaṁ ca sāvane viyuthena* (Gujarrā), and *256* was added to it in the five versions in the Chitradurga and Kurnool Districts. Its meaning is made clear by the elaboration in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and Ahraurā versions. Thus at Rūpnāth we have—*vyuthena sāvane kaṭe* followed by the explanatory sentences *256 sata vivasā*(*so*) *ta*(*ti*). Here the word *vivāsa,* from the same

[1] See *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXVI, p. 241 ; cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* 1965, p. 516, note 2.

root as *viyuttha*, is the same as *pravāsa, i.e.*, 'passing one's time away from home' and *256 sata* refers to the passing away of 256 nights (*i.e.* days) by Aśoka away from home (*i.e.* from the capital in the present case).[1] At Sahasrām the corresponding passage reads *iyaṁ ca sāvane vivuthena* which is likewise followed by the sentence *duve sapaṁnā lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256* (Sanskrit : dve *ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-rātri-śate vyuṣitaḥ* [*aham*] *iti—256*), "[I am] away from home (i.e. my capital) [on a tour of pilgrimage] for two hundred and fifty-six nights—256."

The concluding sentence in the Ahraurā version, which practically combines the two sentences of Rūpnāth and Sahasrām and gives interesting details, runs as follows : *esa sāvane vivuthena duve sapaṁnā-lāti-sati aṁ maṁce Budhasa salile ālodhe ti, i.e.* Sanskrit : *etat śrāvaṇaṁ vyuṣitena* [*mayā śrāvitaṁ*] *dve ṣaṭ-pañcāśad-rātri-śate yat* (= *yataḥ*) *mañcaṁ Buddhasya śarīraṁ* (= *deh-āvaśeṣḥ*) *ārūḍhom* = *iti*, "This declaration is [made by me as I am] away from my capital [on a tour of pilgrimage] for 256 nights (= days) since the relics of the Buddha rose to (*i.e.* were caused by me to be installed on) the platform."

The next sentences of our record are *aḍha*[*ti*]*yāni vasāni yate sumi upāsake no cu bā*[*ḍhaṁ*] *pakāṁte husaṁ ti va* (/*) *saṁ*[*vacha*]*raṁ* [*s-ādhikaṁ me sagha ya ya*]*te bāḍha c*[*u*] *sumi pakaṁta* (/*) Sanskrit—*ardha-tṛtīyāni varṣāṇi yataḥ asmi* [*aham*] *upāsakaḥ no ca tu* [*ahaṁ*] *bāḍhaṁ prakāntaḥ abhūvam iti eva* / *saṁvatsaraṁ mayā saṁghaḥ yat yātaḥ bāḍhaṁ ca tu asmi prakrāntaḥ* / It says how Aśoka was a lay worshipper of the Buddha for two years and a half before the issue of the edict and how he was not zealously active at first in the cause of Dharma. The record further says how the Buddhist Church came to be intimately associated with him and how, as a result of that, Aśoka became zealously active for more than a year before the promulgation of the edict. We know that in most versions the word *aḍhatiyāni* is modified by another word like *adhikāni, s-ādhikāni* or *s-ātirekāṇi* and that, besides Pāngurāriā, Gujarrā is the only version where there is no such word. At the places in the Chitradurga and Kurnool Districts, we have *ekaṁ saṁvacharaṁ* added to the next sentence, the first group placing these words after *pakaṁte husaṁ* and the second group before it. For the word which seems to be *yāta* at Pāngurāriā (as at Gujarrā) we have *upagata* (Maski), *upeta* (Rūpnāth, the Chitradurga versions, Gavīmaṭh, Eṟṟaguḍi and Ahraurā) and *upayāta* (Bairāṭ, Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Delhi). Another difference is that some versions (Maski and Rūpnāth) prefer *ahaṁ saṅghaṁ yātaḥ* (*upetaḥ, upagataḥ* or *upayātaḥ*) while the others (Bairāṭ, Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, Eṟṟaguḍi, Gavīmaṭh and Delhi) have it as *mayā saṅghaḥ yātaḥ* (*upetaḥ, upagataḥ, upayātaḥ*), though both mean the same thing and show, in our opinion,[2] that Aśoka came in close contact with the Buddhist Church more than a year before the promulgation of Minor Rock Edict I. Of course, this close contact may have been the result of his visit to a monastery. In place of *bāḍhaṁ ca sumi pakaṁta*, the Maski version has *uṭhānaṁ ca sumi upagata* (Sanskrit *utthānaṁ ca asmi upagataḥ*) in which *utthāna* means exertion or zealous activity in the matter of Dharma.

[1] Cf. a similar use of the word *śata* elsewhere, e.g., in passages like *saṁvatsara-śata* 872 in the Buchkala inscription (Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 22).

[2] See Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 24-25 ; also above.

The passage that follows runs—*imaṁ ca kālaṁ Ja[ṁbu-dipa]si devā na [manusehi mi]-s[i]bhūtā husu (/*) [te dāni misibhūtā*] (/*) [pakamasa hi esa pha*]la (/*) no ca esa mahāpa-k[ā]raṇeṇo(na) va (/*) khuda[ke] pi pakama[māne sakiye vipulaṁ svagaṁ ārādhayituṁ*] (/*) [etāya*] aṭhāya esa sāvaṇe kitā(ti) khudakā [ca] uḍārakā ca paka[maṁtu*] (/*) [aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu*] kiti ete pi pakameyu ti (/*) ayaṁ hi aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipula [pi ca] [vaḍisiti diyaḍham=eva*] [va]ḍhisiti (/*) ci[ra]-ṭhitike ca hositi (/*)* Sanskrit—*imaṁ ca kālaṁ [yāvat] Jambu-dvīpe devāḥ na manuṣyaiḥ miśrībhūtāḥ abhūvan/te idānīṁ [manuṣyaiḥ] miśrībhūtāḥ/[mama] prakramasya hi etat phalam/no ca etat [mama] mahātma-kāraṇena eva [ārāddham]/kṣudrakaḥ api prakramamāṇaḥ śakyaḥ vipulaṁ svargam=ārādhayitum/etasmai arthāya etat śrāvaṇam/kim=iti/kṣudrakāḥ ca udārakāḥ ca prakramantu/antāḥ api ca jānantu/kim=iti/ete api prakrameyuḥ iti/ayaṁ hi arthaḥ vardhiṣyate vipulaṁ ca vardhiṣyate dyardhaṁ vardhiṣyate/cira-sthitikaḥ ca bhaviṣyati/* Here we are told that, in former times, the gods were not mingled with men in Jambu-dvīpa (i.e. in Aśoka's empire),[1] but that they mingled with men as a result of Aśoka's zealous effort for a little above one year. It is emphasised that the said success was not due to the fact that Aśoka was an eminent or rich person. We are told that even a zealously exerting small or poor man would attain to the great heaven. The object of the declaration is stated to be Aśoka's desire that both the small or poor and the big or rich should zealously exert themselves and that the people living on the borders of the empire should know about it and exert themselves in the matter. We are also told that his purpose was expected not only to get it increased but to get it increased greatly and even to one and half times. Aśoka wanted that this becomes everlasting.

The language of the passage is slightly different in the different versions. For *imaṁ ca kālaṁ*, we have *pure* (Maski), *imāyaṁ velāyaṁ* (Gavīmaṭh and possibly also Rūpnāth), *etena ca aṁtalena* (Sahasrām and Ahraurā; cf. *etena aṁtarena* at Gujarrā), *iminā cu kālena* (Chitradurga and Kurnool). Sometimes the mingling is mentioned as that of the gods with the men as in our record; but sometimes it is the mingling of the men with the gods, the meaning of course being the same. The word *misibhūtā* occurs at Maski and in the Kurnool District, the idea being expressed in other words elsewhere; e.g. *misā kaṭā* (*miśrāḥ kṛtāḥ*) at Rūpnāth and Gavīmaṭh; *misaṁ-devā kaṭā* (*miśra-devāḥ kṛtāḥ*) at Sahasrām, Gujarrā and Ahraurā, and *misā* (*miśrāḥ*) at Delhi and in the Chitradurga District. The nature of the mingling is indicated at Gujarrā where we have the additional passage—*khudāke cā uḍāre cā dhaṁmaṁ caraṁtū yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū*, "Let the poor and the rich [both] practise [the duties associated with] Dharma [and] effect [their] association [with the gods thereby]." This apparently refers to the ancient Indian belief that pious people often succeeded in bringing down the gods on the earth to have conversation with them.[2].

The concluding passage in the Pāngurāria version reads *yatha ca pavatā yatha ca silatha[bhā] [savata lekhāpe*]tavā(vi)ya ti (/*)*. In Sanskrit it is—*yatra ca parvatāḥ [santi]*

[1] The Gujarrā version adds *Devānaṁpiyasa* after *Jambu-dipasi*. See also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 2.

[2] See the case of the Śailodbhava king Ayaśobhita Madhyamarāja of Orissa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX p. 35; cf. Vol. XXXVI, p. 243). See also above.

yatra ca silā-stambhāḥ [*santi*] [*sarvatra teṣu teṣu ayam arthaḥ*] *lekhitavyaḥ iti*/ Hereby Aśoka instructs his governor of the area around Pāngurāriā to get the edict engraved on rocks and stone-pillars wherever they are available within his jurisdiction. We know that only two other versions have a corresponding passage although it is differently worded in them. Thus at Rūpnāth we have *iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lekhāpeta vālata* (/*) *ha*(*hi*) *dha ca athi sā*-(*si*) *lā-ṭhabhe silā-ṭhaṁbhasi lā*(*li*)*khāpetava*(*vi*)*ya ti* (/*) which stands in Sanskrit as *ayaṁ ca arthaḥ parvateṣu lekhaya vārataḥ/iha ca asti* [*cet*] *śilā-stambhaḥ śilā-stambhe lekhitavyaḥ iti*/ "And cause this matter to be written (i.e. engraved) on rocks whenever an opportunity offers itself. And [perchance] there is a stone pillar, [it] should be caused to be written (i.e. engraved) on the stone pillar." Likewise at Sahasrām, the passage runs—*ima ca aṭhaṁ pavatesu likhāpayāthā* (/*) *ya*[*ta*] *vā athi hetā silā-thaṁbhā tata pi likhāpayatha ti* (/*) In Sanskrit, it would stand as *imaṁ ca arthaṁ parvateṣu lekhaya/yatra vā santi atra śilā-stambhāḥ tatra api lekhaya iti* (/*) "And get this matter written (i.e. engraved) on rocks Or wherever there are stone-pillars here, cause [it] to be written (i.e. engraved) thereon."

The introductory part of the record seems to mention two geographical names, viz. Māṇema-deśa and probably Upunitha (or Opunitha) where there was a Buddhist monastery. The city where Aśoka's viceroy names Saṁva was stationed must have been situated near the inscribed rock at Pāngurāriā as we have said.

TEXT[1]

Introductory Part

1(I) Piyadasi-nāma[2]

2 r[ā]jā Kumāra[sa]

3 Saṁvasa Māṇe-[3]

4 ma-des[e] [U[4]]punitha-

5 vihāra-[ya]tāy[e] (/*)[5]

EDICT

Section I

1(II) Sāvaṇaṁ viyuthe[na] 200 50 6 (/*) (III) Devāṇaṁpiy[e] āṇapayati (/*) (IV) aḍha[ti]yā-[6]

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[1] From photographs and impressions.

[2] For the possibility of a damaged *akṣara* here, see above.

[3] There is a mark after *ṇe*. For the possibility of its being the remnant of a lost *akṣara*, see above.

[4] The *akṣara* may be *o* also so that the name would be Opunitha.

[5] There seems to be a *svastika* mark at the end of the line.

[6] No word like *s-ādhikāni* appears before *aḍhatiyāni*.

2 ni vasāni yate sumi upāsake (/*) (V) no cu bā[ḍhaṁ*] -[pa]kāte husaṁ ti va (/*)[1] (VI) saṁ[vacha]raṁ [sā]-

3 [dhikaṁ me sagha ya ya]te bāḍha c[u] sum[i] pakaṁta (/*) (VII) imaṁ ca kālaṁ Ja[ṁbu]-[dipa]si

Section II

4 devā na [manusehi mi]s[i]bhūtā husu (/*) (VIII) ....[2]

5 la (/*) (X) no ca esa mahāpa-k[ā]raṇeṇo(na) va ((/*) khudake pi pakama .....[3]

6 aṭhāya esa sāvaṇe kitā(ti) khudakā [ca] uḍārakā ca paka ....[4]

7 kiti ete pi pakameyu ti (/*) (XIV) ayaṁ hi aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipula [pi ca]........ [va]-ḍhi-[5]

8 siti ci[ra]-ṭhitike ca hositi (/*) (XV) yatha ca pavatā yatha ca silā-tha[bhā] ......[6] [ta]vā(vi)ya ti (/*)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(i) I. पियदसि-नाम (2) [रा]जा कुमार[स] (3) संवस माणे(4)म-दे[से] [उ(ओ?)]पुनिथ- (5) विहार-[य]ता[ये] (//*) (ii) II. सावनं वियुथे[न] २०० ५० ६(/*) III. देवाणंपि[ये] आणपयति (/*) IV. अद[ति]या(2)नि वसानि यते सुमि उपासके (/*) V. नो चु बा[ढं*] [प]काते हुसं ति व (/*) VI. सं[वछ]रं [सा](3)[धिकं मे सघ य य]ते बाढ [चु] सु[मि] पकंत (/*) VII. इमं च कालं [जंबु][दिप*]सि (iii) (4) देवा न [मनुसेहि मिसि]भूता हुसु (/*) VIII. [ते दानि मिसिभूता*] (/*) IX. [पकमस हि एस फ*](5)ल (/*) X. नो च एस महाप-[का]रणेणो(न) व (/*) XI. खुदके पि पकम[माने सकिये*] [विपुलं स्वगं आराधयितुं*] (/*) XII. [एताय*] (6) अठाय एस सावने किता(ति) खुदका [च] उडारका च पक[मंतु*] (/*) XIII. [अंता पि च*] [जानंतु*] (7) किति एते पि पकमेयु ति (/*) XIV. अयं हि अठे वढिसिति विपुल [पि च] [वढिसिति दियढमेव*] [व]ढि(8)सिति चिर-ठितिके च होसिति (/*) XV. यथ च पवत यथ च सिलाथ[भा] [सवत लेखापे*][त]वा(वि)य ति (//*)

TRANSLATION

(I) The king named Priyadarśin [speaks] to *Kumāra* Śaṁva from [his] march [of pilgrimage] to the Upunitha-vihāra (or Opunitha-vihāra) in Māṇema-deśa.

(II) [This] declaration [was issued by me when I was] on a tour [of pilgrimage and had stayed away from the capital for] 256 [nights, i.e. days].

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[1] There seems to be a little space here.

[2] The *akṣaras*, which are peeled off here, are *te dāni misibhūtā* (/*) (IX) *pakamasa hi esa pha*°.

[3] The missing *akṣaras* here appear to have been °*māne sakiye vipulaṁ svagaṁ ārādhayituṁ* (/*) (XII) *etāya*.

[4] The lost *akṣaras* were probably °*maṁtu* (/*) (XIII) *aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu*.

[5] The missing *akṣaras* may be restored as *vaḍhisiti diyaḍham=eva*.

[6] The lost *akṣaras* seems to have been *savata lekhāpe*°.

(III) The Beloved of the Gods issued the order [thus].

(IV) [It is two and half] years since I have been a lay worshipper [of the Buddha].

(V) [However], I was not zealously active [in the matter of Dharma at the beginning].

(VI) [It is now more than a year that] the Buddhist Church has been intimately associated with me, and I am zealously active [in the matter of Dharma].

(VII) Upto this time, the gods were not mingled with men in Jambu-dvīpa.

(VII) [Now they have been mingled with men].

(IX) [This is] the result [of my zealous activity].

(X) This has not been caused by my being a big (i.e. rich) man.

(XI) The small (i.e. poor) man, if zealously active [in the matter of Dharma], [may attain to the great heaven].

(XII) For [this] purpose has this declaration [been made] that the small (poor) and the big (rich) should be zealously active [in the cause of Dharma].

(XIII) [The people living beyond the borders of my empire should also know] so that they should also be zealously active [in the same cause].

(XIV) This matter will increase—will greatly increase—will [indeed] increase [to one and half times] and will become everlasting.

(XV) Wherever there are rocks and wherever there are pillars of stone, [everywhere this matter] should be written (i.e. engraved).

CHAPTER VII

SOUTHERN VERSION OF MRE I-II AT RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI

In a letter dated the 14th September 1946, T. G. Aravamuthan, a keen student of ancient Indian history and an Advocate of the Madras High Court, sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India an eye-copy of the beginning of a Brāhmī inscription, which he had reproduced from an old record about thirty years previously. Just then he could not remember the source from which the eye-copy had been taken down ; but he correctly noticed that some of the letters of the inscription looked like Brāhmī characters found in the edicts of Aśoka. Unfortunately it was not possible to make out anything from the eye-copy, and Aravamuthan was searching for his notes to trace its source. In another letter, dated the 14th March 1947, he informed the Government Epigraphist for India that he had reproduced the eye-copy of the inscription from the following volume of the Mackenzie Manuscripts preserved in the Madras Government's Oriental Manuscripts Library : 'Local Records, Vol. 29, Sheet 28, Title 55 : Inscriptions on Stone and Copper in the Aundavanny Mangala Dinne and Puncha Pallem Districts—Transcribed in Local Records, Vol. 23'. He also wrote in this connection that the inscription is stated in the said source to be in a *dona* opposite the west Gopuram of Pedda Rāmaliṅga Devālayam in the southern part of a village called Rājula-Maṇḍagiri in the Panchapalayam Taluk in the District of the same name. As the *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency* does not refer to places called Panchapalayam and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, the findspot of the inscription may be, he suggested, no other than Maṇḍigiri in the Adoni Taluk of the Bellary District.

The discovery of the eye-copy in the Mackenzie Manuscripts points to the date when it was prepared. Colin Mackenzie, forn in 1754, was appointed to the Sappers in Madras and arrived in India in 1783. He was appointed the first Surveyor-General of India in 1815 and died in 1821. Soon after his arrival in South India, Mackenzie contacted certain Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍits and realised the importance of collecting manuscripts and studying their contents for an evaluation of Indian culture. In the thirty-eight years of his stay in India, he collected innumerable manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian as well as in the South Indian languages, of which the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian manuscripts were sent to England. His collection also included transcripts of numerous inscriptions on stone and copper plates. After his death, Mackenzie's South Indian collection was purchased by the East India Company, and their catalogue in two volumes, prepared by H. H. Wilson with the assistance of Mackenzie's Paṇḍits, was published from Calcutta in 1828. The manuscripts were afterwards deposited first in the library of the Madras College, then in the library of the Presidency College (Madras) and ultimately in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It seems that the eye-copy of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri inscription was prepared for Mackenzie sometime about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In February 1948, N. Lakshminarayan Rao, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, visited

the village of Maṇḍigiri in the Bellary District in search of the epigraph. But no such inscription could be traced there. In December 1952, in the course of his annual tour in search of inscriptions, M. Venkataramayya, then Epigraphical Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited Pattikoṇḍa which is the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Kurnool District and lies about 8 miles from the Tuggali Station on the Guntakal-Bezwada line of the Southern Railway. There he heard of a locality called Rājula-Maṇḍagiri lying at a distance of about 3 miles to the north-west of Pattikoṇḍa and also of the existence of some inscriptions at the place. He was told that it is a hamlet attached to the village of Jūṭūru about 4 miles to the north-west of Pattikoṇḍa. There was no road from Pattikoṇḍa to Rājula-Maṇḍagiri; but the place could be reached by a bullockcart. The hamlet lies at a distance of about 20 miles from Eṟṟaguḍi where the edicts of Aśoka were discovered in 1929.[1]

Venkataramayya could not visit Rājula-Maṇḍagiri just then. Next year he again went to the Pattikoṇḍa area in search of inscriptions and discovered the record in question at Rājula-Maṇḍagiri on the 26th December 1953. There is no doubt that this is the inscription, an eye-copy of which found a place in the Mackenzie Manuscripts. The temple of Rāmaliṅgeśvara stands on the rock on which the inscription is engraved. The epigraph is incised on the surface of the rock at a distance of about ten yards from the entrance of the temple. Four other early and medieval epigraphs were also discovered in the locality.[2]

The inscription representing a version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts I and II commences with a triskele which is sometimes found on the uninscribed cast coins of ancient India.[3] The same symbol is noticed in the eye-copy. The copyist tried to reproduce some letters at the beginning of the inscription. But he only copied the letters and their parts which he could clearly see and omitted damaged letters without leaving any space for them. This made it impossible for anybody to decipher the record from the eye-copy.

The area covered by the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri inscription consisting of 15 lines of writing is about 70″ by 40″. Individual *akṣaras* are about 2¼″ in height. The preservation of the writing is quite unsatisfactory. There is no line in which a number of *akṣaras* are not damaged, beyond recognition is most cases. The characters, which are slightly roundish in shape and are rather carelessly engraved in lines which are not always straight, closely resemble those of the Eṟṟaguḍi inscriptions of Aśoka. While, however, the Eṟṟaguḍi version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II has many passages to be read from right to left and several groups of letters engraved outside their proper places, the said peculiarities are absent in the writing of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy. The lines have to be read from left to right as usual in Brāhmī, and letters do not appear to have been incised outside their proper places. The left and right strokes forming the lower part of *tu* are curved, the two of them together generally forming a sort of semi-circle. The letter *ra* is not of the cork-screw type, but is a horizontal line, its upper end being generally a curve open-

[1] *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1928-29, pp. 161-67. See also above, pp. 1 ff.

[2] See *A. R. Ind. Ep.*, 1953-54, Nos. 64-67 of App. B.

[3] See Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. lxxvi, 98.

ing towards the right. The upper vertical of *va* is sometimes a curve opening towards the right and the letter resembles *ma* without its right upper member (cf. *Devānaṁ°* and *hevāha* in line 1). The conjunct *pra* has been written as *rpa*. As regards the Prakrit language of the record and its orthography and grammar, it may be pointed out that the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II may be regarded as a close copy of the Eṟṟaguḍi text of the same records. Most characteristics of the epigraph in these respects are also known from some other inscriptions of Aśoka. The letter *ra* has not been changed to *la*, and *na* has been used in all cases for *ṇa*. The use of *hevāha* for Sanskrit *evam=āha* in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Eṟṟaguḍi versions is interesting. Both these versions appear to use *hota* for Sanskrit *bhavatu*.

Most of the sentences of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of MRE I and II are fragmentary; but the lost *akṣaras* can be restored with the help of the almost identical copy found at Eṟṟaguḍi. Such restorations are generally supported by the possible number of *akṣaras* lost in particular gaps. The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text in its turn helps us in restoring certain groups of letters either altogether left out in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy through inadvertence or incised there out of their proper places. There are only a few cases where the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to differ from the Eṟṟaguḍi copy. But the variations are not of great importance.

For the purpose of interpreting the edicts, we propose to quote the text of the sentences of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version singly or in groups and, in the case of the fragmentary sentences, also the corresponding parts of the Eṟṟaguḍi version.[1]

The first sentence of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edict I reads: *Devanaṁpiye hevāha* (Sanskrit: *Devānāmpriyaḥ evam=āha*), "Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods." There is a triskele symbol at the beginning of the sentence. The symbol is also found in the Eṟṟaguḍi version of the edict at the beginning of the same sentence, although it was wrongly read there as *se* (Sanskrit *saḥ, tat*).

The second and third sentences, the first of which is partially preserved, read *adhikāni ca a . . . . ke (/°) no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvachara pakaṁte husaṁ*. The text of the same sentences as found in the Eṟṟaguḍi version runs: *adhikāni* [*aḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni°*] *ya hakaṁ upāsake (/°) no tu kho ekaṁ savacharaṁ pakaṁte husaṁ* (Sanskrit: *adhikān ardhatṛtīyān saṁvatsarān* [*vyāpya*] *yat aham upāsakaḥ* [*asmi*]*/no tu khalu* [*aham*] *ekaṁ saṁvatsaraṁ* [*vyāpya*] *prakrāntaḥ abhūvam*), "It is [now] more than two and half years that I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha). I was, however, not energetic [in the practice and propagation of Dharma] for one year [at the beginning of the above period]." The passage *aḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni* in the second sentence of the edict appears to be inadvertently omitted from the impressions of the Eṟṟaguḍi version. The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version has space for these *akṣaras*, although they are damaged. In the place of *adhikāni* other versions generally have *sādhikani* or *sātirekāni*.

The next sentence, which is also partially preserved, reads: *sātireke . . . . payāte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte*. The complete sentence reads as follows in the Eṟṟaguḍi ver-

[1] Above, pp. 7ff.

sion: *sātireke cu kho savachare yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte* (Sanskrit: *sātirekaṁ ca tu khalu saṁvatsaraṁ* [*vyāpya*] *yat mayā Saṅghaḥ upetaḥ bāḍhaṁ ca mayā prakrāntam*), "It is [now] more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic [in the cause of Dharma]." In the place of *upayīte* (Sanskrit *upetaḥ*) of the Eṟṟaguḍi version, the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to have *upayāte* (Sanskrit *upayātaḥ*).

The fifth damaged sentence reads: *imiṇā cu kālena ami . . . . bhūtā*. The complete text of the same sentence in the Eṟṟaguḍi version reads: *iminā cu kālena amisā [ye] munisā devehi te dāni misibhūtā* (Sanskrit: *etena ca tu kālena [devaiḥ] amiśrāḥ ye manuṣyāḥ [abhūvan] devaiḥ te idānīṁ miśrībhūtāḥ [santi]*). "Those men, who were unmingled [with the gods] during this period [down to the present], have now been mingled with the gods."

. The next sentence, which is not fully preserved, runs: *pakama . . . . phale*. The same sentence in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy reads: *pakamasa hi iyaṁ [phale*]* (Sanskrit: *[mama] prakramasya hi idaṁ phalam*), "This is the result of [my] exertion [in the cause of Dharma]." The word *phale* is inadvertently omitted from the Eṟṟaguḍi text.

The seventh and eighth sentences, the second of which is damaged, run: *no hīyaṁ mahapteneva sakiye* (/*) *khudake . . . . sakiye vipū . . . . tave*. The complete text of this section as found in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy runs: *[no hīyaṁ*] mahapten=eva sakiye* (/*) *khudakena pi pakamamīnena sakiye vipule svage ārādhetave* (Sanskrit: *no hi idaṁ mahātmanā eva śakyam/kṣudrakeṇa api prakramamāṇena śakyaḥ vipulaḥ svargaḥ ārādhayitum*), "Indeed, it is not attainable only by the rich man. Even the poor man, if he is energetic [in the cause of Dharma], can attain even the great heaven." The passage *no hīyaṁ*, found in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy, has been inadvertently omitted from the text of the Eṟṟaguḍi version.

The next damaged sentence reads: *etāye ca aṭhāya . . . . sāvane sāvite*, the Eṟṟaguḍi version giving the complete text of the sentence as: *etāya ca aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvane sāvite* (Sanskrit: *etasmai ca arthāya idaṁ śrāvaṇaṁ śrāvitam*), "It is for this purpose that the proclamation has been made [by me],"

The tenth sentence which is damaged reads . . . . *lakā . . . . tā ca me jāneyu ciraṭhitika ca iyaṁ pakame hota vi . . . .* The complete text of the sentence as found in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy runs: *athā khudaka-mahalakā imaṁ pi pakamevū aṁtā ca me jānevu ciraṭhitikā ca iyaṁ pakame hota vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhasitā aparadhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ* (Sanskrit: *yathā kṣudraka-mahallakāḥ idam api prakrameyuḥ antāḥ api ca jānīyuḥ cira-sthitikaḥ ca ayaṁ prakramaḥ bhavatu vipulam api ca [idaṁ] vardhiṣyate avarādhikena dvyardham*), "So that the poor and the rich should also be energetic in this matter [of the practice and propagation of Dharma], and that the peoples living beyond the borders [of my empire] should also know [that this matter] will increase to a great extent, [at least] roughtly to one and a half times." *Mahallaka* is a Pali word meaning 'big', i.e. rich in the present context.

The eleventh sentence which is not fully preserved reads: . . . . *ca sāvane sāvāpite vyūthena 200 50 6.* As seen from the text of the Eṟṟaguḍi version, the word lost at the beginning of the sentence is *iyaṁ*, the complete sentence standing for Sanskrit: *idaṁ ca śrāvaṇaṁ śrāvitaṁ vyuṣitena 256*, "This proclamation is being issued [by me when I have been] on tour [for] 256 [days]."

The above portion is followed in line 7 by the text of Minor Rock Edict II. The first sentence of this edict is fully preserved and is also found in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy. It reads: *hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye āha* (Sanskrit: *evaṁ Devānāmpriyaḥ āha*), "Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods."

The second sentence, which is damaged, runs: *yathā Devānaṁpi . . . . ye*, the complete text of which, as found in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy, is: *yathā Devānaṁpiye āha tathā kaṭaviye*, (Sanskrit: *yathā Devānāmpriyaḥ āha tathā kartavyam [yuṣmābhiḥ mahāmātraiḥ]*), "You should do as [you have been] told [to do] by the Beloved of the Gods." The king here addresses his executive officers entitled *Mahāmātra*, who were employed in various administrative units of the empire.

The third and fourth sentences run: *Rajūke ānapetaviye* (/°) *se dāni jānapadāni ānapayisati Raṭhikāni ca* (Sanskrit: *Rajjukaḥ [yuṣmābhiḥ] ājñāpayitavyaḥ/saḥ idānīṁ jānapadān ājñāpayiṣyati Rāṣṭrikān ca*), "The [officer entitled] Rajjuka should be ordered [by you in respect of this matter]. He [in his turn] will order the people of the countryside as well as the [officer entitled] *Rāṣṭrika*." Both these sentences are found in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy. The *Mahāmātras*, indirectly referred to in the second sentence of this edict, seem to have been in charge of the provinces or groups of districts in Aśoka's empire while the *Rajjukas* and *Rāṣṭrikas* mentioned in these sentences were probably rulers of the districts and their sub-divisions respectively. The designation *Prādeśika* seems to have been applied to the said class of the *Mahāmātras* in Rock Edict III, the *Yuktas* mentioned there being probably officers of a class similar to that of the *Rāṣṭrika* or of a still lower grade. But it is possibly better to take the word *yukta* there to mean merely 'an official'.

The next five sentences, which are mostly damaged, read: *mātā* . . . . (/°) *gurusu* . . . . (/°) *rpānesu dayitaviye* (/°) *saca vataviya* (/°) . . . . *taviya*. The complete text of this part, as found in the Eṟṟaguḍi version, runs: *mātā-pitūsū sususitaviye* (/°) *hemeva garusu susūsitaviye* (/°) *rpānesu dayitaviye*(/°) *sace vataviye* (/°) *ima dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviye(yā)* (Sanskrit: *mātā-pitṛṣu śuśrūṣitavyam/evam eva guruṣu śuśrūṣitavyam/prāṇeṣu dayitavyam/satyaṁ vaktavyam/ime dharma-guṇāḥ pravartitavyāḥ*), "One should be obedient to one's parents. One should likewise be obedient to one's elders. One should be kind to living beings. One should speak the truth. One should propound these attributes of Dharma." There appears to be no space for *hemeva* in the second of these sentences in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy.

The tenth sentence reads as in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy: *hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha Devānaṁpiya-vacanena* (Sanskrit: *evaṁ yūyam ājñāpayata Devānāmpriya-vacanena*), "Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods."

The eleventh sentence, which is damaged, reads . . . . *tha ha* . . . . *karanakāni yūgyācariyāni baṁbhanāki(ni) ca tuphe.* The complete text of the sentence as found in the Eṟṟaguḍi version runs: *hevaṁ ānapayātha hathiyārohāni kā[ra]nakāni yūgyācariyāni baṁbhanāni ca tuphe* (Sanskrit: *evam ājñāpayata hastyārohān kāraṇakān yugyācaryān brāhmaṇān ca yūyam*), "In this way you should pass orders on the elephant-riders, the scribes, the charioteers and [the teachers of] the Brāhmana [community]." The elephant-riders, scribes and charioteers are mentioned side by side with the Brāhmaṇa teachers apparently because they had also their pupils to whom they used to teach their profession. The idea was that all teachers should guide their pupils in the path of Dharma as understood by Aśoka. The following sentences are meant to be the address of the officers to the teachers.

The twelfth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: . . . . *aṁte* . . . . *pakiti.* The complete text of the sentence, found in the Eṟṟaguḍi version, runs: *hevaṁ nivesayātha aṁtevāsīni yārisā porānā pakiti* (Sanskrit: *evaṁ niveśayata antevāsinaḥ yādṛśī paurāṇī prakṛtiḥ*), "You must thus instruct your pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage."

The damaged thirteenth sentence reads: . . . . *viye.* The complete text of the sentence in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy runs: *iyaṁ susus̄itavīye* (Sanskrit: *idaṁ śuśrūṣitavyam*), "This [order] should be obeyed."

The fourteenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: *apacāya* . . . . *se ācariya* . . . . The complete sentence reads in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy as follows: *apacāyanā ya vā ācariyasa se hemeva* (Sanskrit: *apacāyanā yā eva ācāryasya sā evam eva*), "Whatever honour is enjoyed by the teacher lies really in this." But there is no space for so many *akṣaras* in the damaged part of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy, the intended reading in which may have been *apacāyanā hemeva se acariyasa* (Sanskrit: *apacāyanā evam eva sā ācāryasya*).

The fifteenth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: . . . . *vā pana* . . . . *nātikāni yathāraha nātikasu pavatitaviye.* The complete sentence as found in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy reads: *yathā vā puna ācariyasa nātikāni yathārahaṁ nātikāsu rpavatitaviye* (Sanskrit: *yathā vā punaḥ ācāryasya [ye] jñātikāḥ [santi] yathārhaṁ [taiḥ tasya] jñātikāsu [idaṁ] pravartitavyam*), "Then again, this [principle underlying the order] should be established in the proper manner among [the teacher's] female relations by the male relations he may have." In the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy, the reading may be *nātikesu* (Sanskrit *jñātikeṣu*).

The sixteenth sentence, also fragmentary, runs: . . . . *ate* . . . . *viya yārisā porānā pakati.* The complete sentence reads as follows in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy: *hesā pi aṁtevāsīsu yathārahaṁ pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti* (Sanskrit: *etat api antevāsiṣu yathārhaṁ pravartitavyaṁ yādṛśī paurāṇī prakṛtiḥ*), "This should also be established [by them] in the proper way among [their own] pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage."

The seventeenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: *yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ* . . . . *siya* . . . . *tha ānapayātha ca aṁtevāsi* . . . . In the Eṟṟaguḍi copy, the complete sentence reads: *yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ satiro(re)ke siyā hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha*

ca aṁtevāsīni (Sanskrit: *yathārhaṁ yathā idaṁ sātirekaṁ syāt evaṁ yūyam ājñāpayata niveśayata ca antevāsinaḥ*), "You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this [principle underlying the order] grows [among them abundantly]." The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy seems to have *nivesayātha ānapayātha ca* in the place of *ānapayātha nivesayātha ca* of the Eṟṟaguḍi version.

Only two *akṣaras* of the last sentence of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy are traceable on the impressions. But the sentence seems to read as in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy: *hevaṁ Devānaṁpiya ānapayati* (Sanskrit: *evaṁ Devānāmpriyaḥ ājñāpayat*), "Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods."

TEXT[1]

A. MINOR ROCK EDICT I

1.[2] (I) Devānaṁpiye hevā[ha][3] (/°) (II) adhik[ā]ni[4] [ca[5] a] . . . .[6] k[e] (/°) (III) no tu [kho]

2. e[kaṁ] saṁva[chara pa]kaṁte husaṁ (/°) (IV) [sā]tire[ke] . . . .[7] [payā]te bā-

3. ḍhaṁ ca me paka[ṁ]te (/°) (V) [i]minā [cu] kā[le]na ami . . . .[8] [bhū]tā (/°) (VI) [pa]ka[ma]

4. . . . .[9] phale (/°) (VII) no hīyaṁ mahapten=[e]va sakiye (/°) (VIII) [khu]dāk[e] . . . .[10] [sa]kiye vi[pū] . . . .[11]

5. . . . .[12] [ta]ve (/°) (IX) etāy[e] ca aṭhāya . . . .[13] [sāvane] sāv[te] (/°) (X) . . . .[14] [la]kā . . . .[15]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] There is a triskele symbol at the beginning of the line.

[3] This word stands for Sanskrit *evam āha*.

[4] Other versions would suggest *sādhikāni*. But the Eṟṟaguḍi copy has *adhikāni*.

[5] This damaged *akṣara* looks more like *ma*.

[6] About 15 *akṣara* are damaged here. They may be restored as °*ḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni yaṁ hakaṁ upāsa*°.

[7] About 12 *akṣaras* which are damaged here may be restored as *tu kho saṁvachare yaṁ mayā saṁghe u*°.

[8] The number of *akṣaras* damaged here is about 12, and they may be restored as °*sā munisā devehi te dāni misi*°.

[9] About 3 *akṣaras* are damaged here. They may be restored as °*sa h=iyaṁ*.

[10] About 8 *akṣaras*, which are damaged here, may be restored as °*na pi pakamamīnena*.

[11] The damaged *akṣaras* can be restored as °*le svage*.

[12] The number of *akṣaras* damaged here is about 3, and they may be restored as *ārādhe*°.

[13] About 2 *akṣaras* are damaged here. They may be restored as *iyaṁ*.

[14] There are about 7 *akṣaras* damaged here. They may be restored as *athā khudaka-maha*°.

[15] The damaged *akṣaras* may be restored as *imaṁ paka*°.

6\. . . . .[1] [t]ā ca me jāne[yu ci]ra-ṭhiti[ka ca i]yaṁ pakame hota v[i] . . . .[2]

7\. . . . . (XI) . . . .[3] [ca s]āvane sā[vāpi]te [vy]ūthena [200] 50 [6] (/°)

B. MINOR ROCK EDICT II

(I) [hevaṁ De]vānaṁp[iye ā]ha (/°) (II) [yathā Devānaṁpi]

8\. . . . .[4] ye (/°) (III) rajū[ke ā]na[pe]ta[viye] (/°) (IV) se dā[ni jāna]padā[ni] [ā]napayi[sati ra]ṭhikā[ni] ca (/°) (V) [mā]tā

9\. . . . .[5] (/°) (VI) gu[rusu] . . . .[6] (/°) (VII) rpān[esū] [da]yitavi[ye] (/°) (VIII) sa[ca vatavi]ya (/°) (IX) . . . .[7]

10\. . . . .[8] tavi[ya] (/°) (X) he[vaṁ tu]phe āna[pa°]yātha Devānaṁ[piya]-vacane[na] (/°) (XI) . . . .[9]

11\. tha [ha] . . . .[10] [ka]ranakāni [yūg]yācariyāni [ba]ṁ[bhanā]ki(ni) [ca] tu[phe] (/°) (XII) . . . .[11]

12\. [aṁ]te . . . .[12] pakiti (/°) (XIII) . . . .[13] [vi]ye (/°) (XIV) [apa]cāya . . . .[14] se aca]-

13\. [ri]ya . . . .[15] (/°) (XV) . . . .[16] v[ā pa]na . . . .[17] nā[ti]kāni yathāra[ha nā]ti[kasu][18] [pa]vatita[viye] (/°) (XVI) . . . .[19] [ate]

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[1] About 3 *akṣaras* are damaged here. They may be restored as °*meyu aṁ*°.

[2] The number of *akṣaras* damaged here is about 11. The reading appears to be °*pule vaḍhisiti aparadhiyā*.

[3] About 6 *akṣaras* are damaged here. They may be restored as *diyaḍhiyaṁ* (/°) *iyaṁ*.

[4] About 8 *akṣaras* damaged here may be restored as °*ye āha tathā kaṭavi*°.

[5] About 8 *akṣaras*, which are damaged here, may be restored as °*pitusu sususitaviye*.

[6] The word can be restored as *sususitaviye*.

[7] These damaged *akṣaras* can be restored as *ima dhaṁ*°.

[8] Ther are about 6 *akṣaras* damaged here, which may be restored as °*ma-gunā pavati*°.

[9] The *akṣaras* lost here can be restored as *hevaṁ ānapaya*°.

[10] About 6 *akṣaras* are damaged here. The word may be *hathiyārohāni*.

[11] The damaged *akṣaras* can be restored as *hevaṁ nivesayātha*.

[12] About 9 *akṣaras* are damaged here. They may be restored as °*vāsini yarisā porānā*.

[13] The damaged *akṣaras* can be restored as *iyaṁ sususita*°.

[14] There is space here for about 4 *akṣaras* which may be restored as °*nā hemeva*. The Erragudi copy has *apacāyanā ya vā ācariyasa se hemeva*, in the place of which the present copy seems to have *apacāyanā hemeva se achariyasa*.

[15] The lost *akṣara* may be restored as *sa*.

[16] About 2 *akṣaras* which are damaged here may be restored as *yathā*.

[17] There are about 5 *akṣaras* damaged here, and they may be restored as *acariyasa*.

[18] The word looks more like *nātikesu* than *nātikāsu* here.

[19] About 3 *akṣaras* are lost. They may be restored as *hesā pi*.

14. . . . .[1] [vi]ya yārisā porā[nā pa]ka[ti] (/°) (XVIII) [yathāra]haṁ yaṭhā [iyaṁ] . . . .[2] siya

15. . . . .[3] tha [ānapa]yātha ca [a]ṁt[e]v[āsi] . . . .[4] (/°) (XVIII) . . . . napa . . . .[5] (/°)

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. देवानंपिये हेवा[ह] (/*) II. अधि[का]नि [च अ][ढतियानि संवछरानि*] [यं हकं उपास*][के] (/*) III. नो तु [खो] (2) ए[कं] संव[छरं प]कंते हुसं (/*) IV. [सा]तिरे[के] [तु खो संवछरे*] [यं मया संघे उ*] [पया]ते बा(3)-ढं च मे प[कं]ते (/*) V. [इ]मिना [चु] का[ले]न अमि[सा मुनिसा*] [देवेहि ते दानि*] [मिसि*][भू]ता (/*) VI. [प]क[म](4)[स हीयं*] फले (/*) VII. नो हीयं महते नेव सकिये (/*) VIII. [खु]दा[के][न पि*] [पकममीनेन*] [स]किये वि[पु] [ले स्वगे*] (5) [आराधे*][त]वे (/*) IX. एताय च अठाय [इयं*] [सावने] सावि[ते] (/*) X. [अथा खुदक-मह*][ल]का [इमं पक*](6)[मेयु अं*][ता] च मे जाने[यु] [चि]र-ठिति[क च इ]यं पकमे होत [वि]-[पुले*] [वढिसिति अपरधिया*] (7) [दियढियं*] (/*) [इयं*] [च] [सा]वने सा[वापि]ते [व्यू]थेन [२००] ५० [६] (/*)

(2) I. [हेवं दे]वानं[पिये] [आ]ह (/*) II. यथा देवानंपि(8)[ये आह*] [तथा कटवि*]ये (/*) III. रजु[के आ]न-[पे]त[विये] (/*) IV. से दा[नि जान]पदा[नि आ]नपयि[सति] [र]ठिका[नि] च (/*) V. [मा]ता-(9) [पितुसु सुसुसितविये*] (/*) VI गु[रुसु] [सुसुसितविये*] (/*) VII. पा(प्रा)[नेसु द]यितवि[ये] (/*) VIII. स[च] [वतवि]य (/*) IX. [इम धं*](10)[म-गुना पवति*]तवि[य] (/*) X. हे[वं तु]फे आन[प*]याथ देवानं[पिय]-वचने[न] (/*) XI. [हेवं आनपय*](11)थ [ह][थियारोहानि*] [क]रनकानि [युग्या]चरियानि [बंभना]कि(नि) [च] तु[फे] (/*) XII. [हेवं निवेसयाथ*] (12) [अं]ते[वासिनि*] [यारिसा पोराना*] पकिति (/*) XIII. [इयं सुसुसित*] [वि]ये (/*) XIV. [अप]चाय [ना हेमेव*] [से अच] (13) रिय[स*] (/*) XV. [यथा*] [वा प]न [अचरियस*] ना[ति]कानि यथार[ह] [ना]सि[कसु प]वतित[विये] (/*) XVI. [हेसा पि*] [अते] (14) [वासिसु*] [यथारहं पवतित*] [वि]य यारिसा पोरा[ना प]क[ति] (/*) XVII. [यथार]हं यथा [इयं] [सातिरेकं*] सिय (15) [हेवं तुफे*] [निवेसया*]थ [आनप]याथ च [अंतेवासि] [नि*] (/*) XVIII. [हेवं देवानंपिये आ*]नप[यति*] (/*)

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[1] The damaged *akṣaras* (about 11 in number) may be restored as °*vāsisu yathārahaṁ pavatita*°.

[2] The damaged *akṣaras* may be restored as *sātirekaṁ*.

[3] About 8 *akṣaras* are lost here. They may be restored as *hevaṁ tuphe nivesayā*°.

[4] The damaged *akṣara* may be restored as *ni*.

[5] The sentence may be restored as *hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye ānapayati*.

CHAPTER VIII

MINOR ROCK AND PILLAR EDICTS AT KANDAHAR AND AMARAVATI

I GREEK AND ARAMAIC VERSIONS OF MRE IV[1] AT KANDAHAR

A rock inscription of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) was discevered in a locality called Shar-i-Kuna near Kandahar in Southern Afghanistan, that is to say, in the vicinity of the site of the ancient city of Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great in Arachosia. It is a bilingual record, one of its two versions being in Greek and the other in Aramaic. Both the versions of the inscription were published in Italian by U. Scerrato, G. Tucci, G. P. Carratelli and G. L. della Vida in a small book entitled *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Asoka—La prima iscrizione greca scoperta in Afghanistan*, Rome, 1958, and in French by D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, No. 1, pp. 1 ff.[2]

The Shar-i-Kuna inscription is an edict referring to the results of Aśoka's propagation of what he called his *Dharma* and we know that such results are referred to in some of his other edicts, especially in MRE I-II and RE IV. The two versions of the Shar-i-Kuna inscription are really independent free translations of an edict (or two versions of an edict) that may have been drawn up in Prakrit at Aśoka's Record Office in Pāṭaliputra and sent to his Viceroy and the *Mahāmātras* at Alexandria in Arachosia for being translated into Greek and Aramaic no doubt respectively for the local Greek (Yavana) and Kamboja subjects of the Maurya emperor, who are referred to in Rock Edicts V and XIII. The Aramaic text refers to a fact, recorded in Rock Edict I, that formerly numerous birds and animals used to be killed daily at Aśoka's kitchen for the preparation of curries, but that, at the time of the issue of Rock Edict I, only three living beings were being killed for the same purpose. The Aramaic version also mentions the Maurya king clearly as the lord of the people and officers of the Kandahar region where the edict was engraved.[3] No clear allusion to these is found in the Greek text. Likewise there is mention of the king's hunters only in the Greek text and not in the Aramaic version. We may regard the Shar-i-Kuna inscription as Minor Rock Edict IV.[4]

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict has been satisfactorily deciphered and interpreted, though there are some doubtful passages in the Aramaic version.[5] The im-

[1] See below for this number.

[2] See also J. Filliozat in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1 ff.

[3] Aśoka could not have issued such an edict to the subjects of a foreign ruler.

[4] The Bairāt-Bhābrā (also called Calcutta- Bairāt) inscription may be regarded as Minor Rock Edict III. See Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 28-29, 39-40.

[5] There is some difference between the views of the Italian and French scholars. For study of the Aramaic version by F. Altheim and R. Stichi, see *East and West*, September, 1958, pp. 192ff.

portance of the inscription lies in the fact that it not only proves the inclusion of Afghanistan, apparently the home of the Yavanas and Kambojas, in Aśoka's empire but also quotes the date when the emperor became a zealous propagator of Dharma.

The Greek version of the Shar-i-Kuna edict may be translated as follows:

(I) Ten years having passed [since his coronation], king Priyadarśin has shown[1] Piety to the people.

(II) And, since then, he has rendered the people more pious, and all prosper in the whole earth.

(III) And the king abstains from [the eating or slaughter of] living beings, and other people and all the king's hunters and fishermen have given up hunting.

(IV) And those who could not control themselves have ceased not to control themselves as far as they could.

(V) And they have become obedient to [their] father and mother and to the old people contrary to what was the case previously.

(VI) And henceforth, by so acting, they will live in an altogether better and more profitable way.

It may be translated roughly into Prakrit, as used in Aśoka's inscriptions in general and, in particular his edicts at Shāhbāzgarhī in the Peshawar District (as also Mānsehra in the Hazara District) of Pakistan, as follows:

(I) daśa-vaṣ-abhiṣiteṇa raña Priyadraśina janaspi dhram-anuśasti pravaṭita/*Sanskrit*—Daśa-varṣ-ābhiṣiktena rājñā Priyadarśinā jane dharm-ānuśastiḥ pravartitā/

(II) tato cu tena muniśa baḍhataraṁ dhrama-yuta kaṭa praṇa ca vaḍhita hita-sukhena savra-puṭhaviyaṁ/*Sanskrit*—tataḥ ca tu tena manuṣyāḥ bāḍhataraṁ dharmayutāḥ kṛtāḥ prāṇāḥ ca vardhitāḥ hita-sukhena sarva-pṛthivyām/

(III) raña cu praṇ-araṁbho paritijita/savrehi ca manuśehi luḍakehi ca savrehi kevaṭehi ca raño paritijita vihiṁsa bhutanaṁ/*Sanskrit*—rājñā ca tu prān-ālambhaḥ parityaktaḥ sarvaiḥ ca manuṣyaiḥ lubdhakaiḥ ca sarvaiḥ kaivartaiḥ ca rājñaḥ parityaktā vihiṁsā bhūtānām/

(IV) yeṣaṁ cu n=asi saṁyamo te pi ca saṁyata bhuta yatha tena tena śakaṁ/*Sanskrit*—yeṣāṁ ca tu na āsīt saṁyamaḥ te api ca saṁyatāḥ bhūtāḥ yathā tena tena śakyam/

(V) te pi ca mata-pituṣu vuḍheṣu ca suśruṣaṁti yadiśaṁ no bhuta-pruvaṁ/*Sanskrit*—te api ca mātāpitṛṣu vṛddheṣu ca śuśrūṣanti yādṛśaṁ no bhūta-pūrvam/

(VI) evaṁ ca karamina te paca hita-sukhena vaḍhiśaṁti baḍhaṁvaḍhiśaṁti // *Sanskrit*—evaṁ ca kurvāṇāḥ te paścāt hita-sukhena vardhiṣyante bāḍhaṁ ca vardhiṣyante //

[1] The following sentence makes it clear that the reference is to an earlier event.

PRAKRIT TRANSLATION IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

I. दश-वषभिषितेन रञ प्रियद्रशिन जनस्पि ध्रमनुशस्ति पवटित । II. ततो चु तेन मुनिश बढतरं ध्रम-युत कट प्रण च वढित हित-सुखेन सव्र-पुठविय । III. रञ चु प्रणरंभो परितिजित / सव्रे हि च मनुशेहि लुडकेहि च सव्रे हि केवटेहि च रञो परितिजित विहिंस भुतनं । IV. येषं चु नसि संयमो ते पि च संयत भुत यथ तेन तेन शकं । V. ते पि च मत-पितुषु वुढेषु च सुश्रुषंति यदिशं नो भुत-प्रुवं । VI. एवं च करमिन ते पच हित-सुखेन वढिशंति बढं च वढिशंति ॥

The Aramaic text may be translated as follows:

(I) Ten years having passed (?), it so happened (?) that our lord, king Priyadarśin, became the institutor of Truth.

(II) Since then, evil diminished among all men and all misfortunes (?) he caused to disappear; and [there is] peace [as well as] joy in the whole earth.

(III) And, moreover, [there is] this in regard to food: for our lord, the king [only] a few [animals] are killed; having seen this, all men have given up [the slaughter of animals]; even (?) those men who catch fish (i.e. the fishermen) are subject to prohibition.

(IV) Similarly, those who were without restraint have ceased to be without restraint.

(V) And obedience to mother and to father and to old men [reigns] in conformity with the obligations imposed by fate on each [person].

(VI) And there is no Judgement for all the pious men.

(VII) This [i.e. the practice of Law] has been profitable to all men and will be more profitable [in future].

The text may be roughly translated into the same Prakrit as folllows:

(I) daśa-vaṣ-abhiṣitena raña Priyadraśina spamikena no tada dhram-anuśasti pravaṭita / *Sanskrit*—daśa-varṣ-ābhiṣiktena rājñā Priyadarśinā svāmikena naḥ tadā dharm-ānuśastiḥ pravartitā /

(II) tato apayasa hini jata savraspi ca janaspi tena dupraṭibhaga nivaṭita / asti pi saṁti ca priti ca savra-puṭhaviyaṁ / *Sanskrit*—tataḥ apāyasya hāniḥ jātā sarvasmin ca jane tena duṣpratibhāgaḥ nivartitaḥ / asti api śāntiḥ ca prītiḥ ca sarva-pṛthivyām /

(III) eta ca pi bhutaṁ / sup-aṭhaya cu raño no spamikasa lahukaṁ arabhiyati / tasa ca draśana savra manuśa na arabhaṁti / evaṁ pi ye ca kevaṭa te pi ca niyamena saṁyata / *Sanskrit*—etat ca api bhūtaṁ/sūp-ārthāya ca rājñaḥ naḥ svāmikasya laghukam ālabhyate / tasya ca darśanāt sarve manuṣyāḥ na ālabhante / evam api ye ca kaivartāḥ te api ca niyamena saṁyatāḥ /

(IV) evaṁ pi yeṣaṁ ca n=asi saṁyamo te pi ca saṁyata bhuta / *Sanskrit*—evam api yeṣāṁ ca na āsīt saṁyamaḥ te api ca saṁyatāḥ bhūtāḥ /

(V) savre ca māta-pituṣu suśruṣaṁti vuḍheṣu ca suśruṣaṁti yadiśaṁ tasa tasa kaṭavaṁ aropitaṁ / *Sanskrit*—sarve ca mātā-pitṛṣu śuśrūṣanti vṛddheṣu ca śuśrūṣanti yādṛśaṁ tasya tasya kartavyam āropitam /

(VI) Dharma-yutanaṁ cu kho paratra n=asti vicaraṇa / *Sanskrit*—dharma-yutānāṁ ca tu khalu paratra na asti vicāraṇā /

(VII) savre ca manuśa dhrama-caraṇena abhuṁnata ca abhuṁnamiṣaṁti c=eva // *Sanskrit*—sarve ca manuṣyāḥ dharma-caraṇena abhyunnatāḥ ca abhyunnamiṣyanti ca eva //

PRAKRIT TRANSLATION IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

I. दश-वषभिषितेन रञ प्रियद्रशिन स्पमिकेन नो तद ध्रमनुशस्ति पवटित। II. ततो अपयस हिनि जत सव्रस्पि च जनस्पि तेन ढुप्रटिभग निवटित। अस्ति पि संति च प्रिति च सव्र-पुठवियं। III. एत च पि भुतं। सुपठय ढु रञो नो स्पमिकस लहुकं अरभियति। तस च द्रशन सव्र मनुश न अरभंति। एवं पि ये च केवट ते पि नियमेन संयत। IV. एवं पि येषं च नसि संयमो ते पि च संयत भुत। V. सव्रे च मत-पितुषु सुश्रुषंति वुदेषु च सुश्रुषंति यदिशं तस तस कटवं अरोपितं। VI. ध्रम-युतनं चु खो परत्र नस्ति विचरण। VII. सव्रे च मनुश ध्रम-चरणेन अभुंनत च अभुंनमिषंति चेव॥

The first sentence in both the versions suggests that Aśoka became a zealous propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in the eleventh year of his reign. The same date is also suggested by the evidence of some of his other records.

It is usually believed that Aśoka's coronation took place about 269 B.C. and that he became a Buddhist after he had been greatly moved by the horrors of the compaigns in Kaliṅga which was conquered by him, according to Rock Edict XIII, eight years after his coronation, i.e., in his ninth regnal year.

Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued earlier than his Fourteen Rock Edicts.[1] They were promulgated when Aśoka had passed the 256th night of a long tour undertaken for the propagation of *Dharma*.[2] Minor Rock Edict I states that, at the time of its issue, Aśoka had already been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two years and a half and that, out of this period of a little over two years and a half, he had not been zealous in respect of *Dharma* for one year at the beginning, but that, as a result of his close contact with the *Saṅgha* or Buddhist Church,[3] he became a zealous propagator of Dharma thereafter for a little over one year.[4] To this period of zealous activity must be assigned the emperor's pilgrimage to Sambodhi (i.e. Mahābodhi or Bodhgayā) undertaken, according to Rock Edict VIII, in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e., in the eleventh regnal year), and the creation of the posts of the *Dharma-Mahāmātras* in the thirteenth year after coronation (i.e., in the fourteenth regnal year), which is referred to in Rock Edict V. The pilgrimage to Sambodhi, the holiest of the Buddhist *tīrthas* where the Buddha attained enlightenment, may be regarded as one of

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[1] See above, p. 4. Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 18-19; Sircar, *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 25, note 1; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 3.

[2] Cf. *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 29-30; also above.

[3] For the meaning of the words *upeta*, *yāta*, *upayāta* and *upagata* used in indicating Aśoka's relation with the *Saṅgha*, see *ibid.*, p. 24; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1: also above pp. 64-65.

[4] This is quite obvious from the language of the different versions of Minor Rock Edict I (see *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 23-25) and is now corroborated by the evidence of the Shar-i-Kuna edict.

the earliest acts of the active period of *Aśoka*'s religious life, to which Minor Rock Edict I pointedly refers. Pillar Edict VI, issued in the twenty-sixth year after Aśoka's coronation (i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year), states that he issued (i.e., first issued or began to issue) *Dharma-lipis,* i.e., edicts relating to the *Dharma* he preached, in the twelfth year after his coronation (i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year). Rock Edict III contains an order of Aśoka asking certain classes of his officers to set out on tour once in every five years for the propagation of his *Dharma* in addition to their normal duties, and this order was promulgated in the twelfth year after his coronation (i.e., in the thirteenth regnal year. Rock Edict VI is stated to have been caused to be written down in the same year. These activities of the thirteenth regnal year of Aśoka must likewise be attributed to the period when he was a zealous propagator of *Dharma.*

On the basis of these facts, we suggested elsewhere[1] (1) that Aśoka became a Buddhist in the second half of his tenth regnal year (i.e., nine years after his coronation, c. 260-259 B.C.), (2) that he came into close contact with the Buddhist Church, became a zealous worker in the cause of *Dharma* and undertook a pilgrimage to Sambodhi in the second half of the eleventh regnal year (i.e., ten years after coronation, c. 259-258 B.C.), (2) that he set out on a tour for the propagation of *Dharma* about the middle of his twelfth regnal year (i.e., eleven years after the coronation, c. 258-257 B.C.), and (4) that Minor Rock Edicts I-II were issued in the course of that tour in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year (i.e., twelve years after coronation, c. 257-256 B.C.).

The Shar-i-Kuna edict now coroborates the suggestion that Aśoka became an active propagator of *Dharma* ten years after his coronation, i.e., in his eleventh regnal year, and sets at rest certain unwarranted speculations about the duration of Aśoka's *upāsakatva* when Minor Rock Edict I was issued.[2] The nature of the Shar-i-Kuna edict is similar to that of Minor Rock Edicts I-II, and both the former and the latter appear to have been issued in the same year and may be counted among the earliest edicts issued by Aśoka.

As indicated above, the imperial order contained in Rock Edict III was issued and Rock Edict IV was caused to be written down in the thirteenth regnal year of Aśoka. But Rock Edict V, belonging to the set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts including Rock Edicts III and IV, contains a reference to the creation of the posts of *Dharma-Mahāmātras* in the following year. The set of the Fourteen Rock Edicts could therefore have been engraved in Aśoka's fourteenth regnal year at the earliest. Amongst the Six Pillar Edicts forming another set, it is known from Pillar Edicts I, IV, V and VI that the set was issued twenty-six years after Aśoka's coronation, i.e., in the twenty-seventh regnal year. Pillar Edict VII added to the above set of six on the Delhi-Toprā pillar was caused to be written down in the following year and this particular set of Seven Pillar Edicts could not therefore have been engraved before Aśoka's twenty-eighth regnal year. There is a fairly long and rather inexplicable interval of more than a decade between the issue of Minor Rock Edicts I-II (thirteenth regnal year) and the set of the Rock Edicts (thir-

[1] *Ibid.,* p. 25; above, pp. 65-66, etc.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 23ff., 29-30; above, pp. 64-65.

teenth and Fourteenth regnal years) on the one hand and that of the Pillar Edicts (twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth regnal years) on the other. During this interval, Aśoka may have been busy with his tours of pilgrimage and with the schism in the Buddhist Church, both referred to in some of his records. Contruction of the pillars took time.

The Shar-i-Kuna edict (very probably of the thirteenth regnal year) suggests that the hunters and fishermen in Aśoka's service, who had originally been responsible for supplying animals and fish to the royal kitchen for the preparation of curries, gave up the practice of catching animals and fish under the king's orders. This reminds us of the fact that, according to Pillar Edict V, the emperor banned the slaughter of certain species of animals and fish totally and of all kinds of them on particular days of the month, in his twenty-seventh regnal year (i.e., twenty-six years after his coronation). The general prohibition therefore came after many years of intensive propaganda, even though Pillar Edict VII says that, in the matter of the propagation of *Dharma,* Aśoka considered propaganda by far more effective than prohibition.

II FRAGMENTARY PILLAR EDICT (MRE IV)[1] FROM AMARAVATI

The Amarāvatī (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions published in Burgess's *Archaological Survey of Southern India,* Vol. I, were generally assigned to c. second century A.D. But the characters of one of them, appearing as No. 4 on Plate LVI and recording the gift of a pillar by a general named Muḍakatala, were rightly regarded as of the Mauryan type, and it was observed on the strength of this evidence that "though, in the second century, vast additions, if not almost entire reconstruction, were effected, the Great *Caitya* (i.e., the one at Amarāvatī) dates originally from perhaps about 200 B.C.)." A number of such early inscriptions were unearthed in the course of later excavations at Amarāvatī along with some records of later dates and, while publishing them in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., R.P. Chanda thus observed on the palaeography of the earliest group of them: "all the signs from the ancient Brāhmī epigraphs from Amarāvatī agree with the southern variety of the Aśoka alphabet."[2] Recently more such inscriptions, along with some of later dates, have been traced or dug up at Amarāvatī and these were noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1959-60. The most important among these epigraphs is a fragmentary record on the side face of a sand stone slab apparently cut out from an inscribed pillar of the Aśokan type probably for the purpose of using it as a stepping stone. It is stated to have been a surface find and was traced in the house of an inhabitant of the area near the Great *Stūpa* at Amarāvatī.

The inscribed side of the slab measures about 10 inches in length and 17 inches in height. The fragmentary inscription contains only seven lines of writing, and the maximum number of letters in a line of the extant writing is seven in line 5. The first few letters of line 6 and all the letters in line 7 are damaged. A number of letters are appa-

[1] See Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka,* 1975, pp. 59-60, for the other Minor Pillar Edicts.

[2] *Op. cit.,* p. 260.

rently lost both at the beginning and at the end of each of the lines. There is some trace of the original 'Mauryan polish' on the inscribed face of the slab, but on none of the other sides representing the surface of the pillar on which the inscription was originally incised. The Brāhmī characters and Prakrit language, in which the record is written, resemble those of some of the inscriptions of Aśoka discovered in Western and Southern India, such as the Rock Edicts at Girnār and some of the MRE texts. As regards palaeography, it may be observed that the letter *ra* is not of the cork-screw but of the straight-vertical type while the right limb of *bha* is fashioned by a single vertical line and not by three strokes. The orthography of the inscription is characterised by the use of both *ra* and *la* as in the MRE texts at Rūpnāth, Gujarrā and Maski. Although the contents of the fragmentary inscription do not exactly tally with those of any of the known edicts of Aśoka, as will be seen below, the record certainly looks like an as yet unknown pillar edict of the Maurya king Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.). If its ascription to the Maurya king is justified, the record under study is the first pillar inscription of Aśoka so far discovered in South India.

It is generally believed that the Aśokan pillars were made at a quarry near Chunar in the Mirzapur District, U.P., and were transported to different places, some of them hundreds of mile away.[1] Historians have praised the ingenuity of the Mauryan engineers and craftsmen for the carriage of such unwieldy masses to great distances especially in view of the extreme difficulty of the conveyance of the Aśokan pillars from Toprā in the Punjab and Meerut in U.P. to Delhi and their re-erection there, which is known to have been experienced by the engineers of Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluq (1351-88 A.D.) of Delhi and is vividly described by Shams-i-Sirāj.[2] The surprise of scholars would no doubt be even greater if Aśoka's artisans were really responsible for transporting one of the pillars from Chunar to Amarāvatī, a distance of nearly a thousand miles across rivers, forests and mountains.[3]

In the first line of the inscription, we can read *para[r]ta(tra) abh[i]* which is followed by a damaged *sa* so that the second word may be *abhisita*. Both these words,viz. *paratra*, 'in the future world', and *abhisita* (Sanskrit *abhiṣikta*, 'anointed'), are often found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, although not both together in the same sentence. Since it is difficult to accommodate the ideas expressed by the two words in the same context, we may suggest a full stop between them. The most important linguistic and palaeographical feature of this line of writing is probably noticed in the word *paratra* in which *ra* appears and *tra* is written as *rta*. Both these features are found in the

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1932, pp. 214-15. As is well known, the pillar inscriptions of Aśoka have been found at the following places: (1) Delhi (orginally from Toprā in the Ambala District, Haryana), (2) Delhi (originally from Meerut, U.P.), (3) Allahabad (originally from Kosam in the Allahabad District, U.P.), (4-6) Radhiah (Lauriya-Araraj), Mathia (Lauriya Nandangarh or Nandangarh) and Rampurva, all three in the Champaran District, North Bihar (7-8). Rummindei and Nigālisāgar in the Nepalese Tarai, (9) Sārnāth near Banaras, U.P., and (10) Sāñchī near Vidisha, M.P.

[2] Cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 350.

[3] The pillar is said to be of fine-grained quartzite (metamorphosed sandstone) of the Nallamalai range and not Chunar sandstone.

language and palaeography of the Girnār edicts of Aśoka and in some cases also in the MRE texts found in the South.[1]

The second line reads *[dha] kho likhite [me]* in which *dha* seems to be the second letter of *idha* so that the words of the sentence stand for Sanskrit *iha khalu likhitaṁ mayā*, 'indeed [it] has been written here by me'. The style of the sentence is no doubt clearly Aśokan and all the four words are found in Aśoka's edicts. It is also well known that the fact of writing down the edicts and getting them inscribed on stone (i.e., rocks and pillars) is often referred to in the known edicts of Aśoka. The word *kho* (Sanskrit *khalu*) is quite common in Aśoka's records,[2] but is rare in other Prakrit inscriptions. The word *idha* occurs several times in the Girnār Rock Edicts (e.g. I, line 2; VI, line 12; XIII, lines 8 and 9) and once in Rock Edict IV at Dhauli.

The third line has *jano bahūni*, 'the people . . . . many . . . .', and both the words *jana* and *bahu* are found many times in the records of Aśoka. The form *jano* in masc. nom. sing. occurs in Girnār, VII, line 2; IX, lines 2; X, line 1; XIII, line 5; XIV, line 4; and also in Shāhbāzgarhī VII, line 3; IX, line 18; XIIII, line 6. The other word appears in the forms *bahuni* and *bahūni* in most versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

Line 4 has *anusuyaṁti sa* followed by a damaged letter which may probably be read as [*me*]. This would stand in Sanskrit as *anuśocanti tat mayā*, '[They] regret. Therefore . . . . by me.' The verb *anusu* may also stand for Sanskrit *anuśru*, 'to hear repeatedly as from a sacred authority'. In that case, *anuśrūyante tat mayā* would mean '[The texts] are, therefore, heard by me repeatedly.' If there is really any reference to religious texts, they may of course be the *dharma-paryāyas* enumerated in the Calcutta-Bairāṭ Minor Rock Edict.[3] This would then show that the inscription under study is almost certainly an Aśokan edict. Whatever, however, may be the interpretation of the passage, it is in perfect Aśokan style, though the word *anusuyaṁti* is not found in the inscriptions of Aśoka so far discovered.

Line 5 has *ra chijiti vijaye* (Sanskrit . . . . *chidyate vijaye*), in which *chijiti* means 'is broken or cut or destroyed' and *vijaye*, 'in conquest', i.e., 'when one gets a victory [in a battle or war]'. The word *vijaye* may also be regarded as standing for Sanskrit *vijayaḥ*, masc. nom. sing. instead of masc. loc. sing. This word reminds us of the conculding part of Rock Edict XIII wherein Aśoka denounces the conquest of peoples by arms and applauds the conquest of their hearts through *Dharma* and wherein the word *vijaya* occurs several times. The word *chijiti*, however, is not noticed in the known inscriptions of Aśoka.

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[1] See *pārarti(tri)kāya* in Girnār, X, line 3, which is found in Aśoka's other records as *pālatikāya* (Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Eṛṛaguḍi), *pālaṁtikāye* (Kālsī) and *paratrikaye* (Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra).

[2] Cf. Girnār, IX, lines 3 and 7; X, line 4; Kālsī, IX, line 25; X, line 28; XIII line 14; Shāhbāzgarhī, VI, line 16; IX, line 18; X, line 22; XIII, line 11; Mānsehra, VII, line 32; IX, lines 3 and 4; X, line 11; Dhauli, IX, line 3; Jaugada, IX, lines 2, 3 and 5; Pillar Edicts (Toprā), I, line 5; III, line 19; VII, line 30; Sārnāth, line 3; Calcutta-Baiāṭ, line 3; Brahmagiri, lines 2 and 4; Śiddāpura, lines 5, 6 and 9; Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, line 4.

[3] *CII*, Vol. I, pp. 172f.

The extant *akṣaras* of line 6 are [*pi ca*] *mame*(*ma*) *pi* (Sanskrit *api ca mama api*, 'and then again of myself also'). The last three *akṣaras* may also be read as *m*[*ā*]*m*= *api*, 'me too'; but that is less likely since, in that sense, *maṁ pi* would probably be the proper expression in an inscription of Aśoka (cf. *maṁ* for Sanskrit *mām* in Pillar Edict VI). The first three letters of line 7 look like *pi ca tata tā* probably standing for Sanskrit *api tatra*, 'and also . . . . there'.

As already indicated above, the language of the inscription resembles that of the Girnār Version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts and also some MRE texts of the south. In this connection, we may note the retention of *ra* in *para*[*r*]*ta*(*tra*) without changing it to *la* and the form *jano* in masc. nom. sing., which make the language close to Girnār. *Vijaye*, whether it is masc. nom. sing. or masc. loc. sing., would also suit the Girnār dialect. As regards *me*, the Girnār edicts have both *mama* and *me* as gen. sing. and *mayā* as inst. sing., though some of the Southern Minor Rock Edicts have both *mayā* and *me* as inst. sing. and *me* also as gen. sing. Considering the fragmentary nature of the line, it is not impossible to regard *me* in line 2 as gen. sing.

We have seen that the palaeography and language of the inscription under study do not go against its ascription to the Maurya emperor Aśoka and that, on the other hand, its style seems to be perfectly Aśokan while its contents remind us of those of some of the known edicts of Aśoka. The ideas suggested by the words of the inscription are similar to those peculiar to the records of Aśoka and have not yet been noticed in any other inscription. The use of the First Person singular is also rare in royal records excepting those of Aśoka. These facts, when considered along with others that the inscription was engraved on a sand stone pillar like those of Aśoka, that the pillar bore the so-caled 'Mauryan polish' and that the record has to be assigned to the Maurya age on grounds of palaeography, indeed make it very probable that the epigraph belongs to Aśoka who alone is known to have raised numerous inscribed pillars of the same type in various localities of his vast empire. The Great *Stūpa* at Amarāvatī thus seems to have been built not about 200 B.C. as suggested by Burgess but by Aśoka about half a century earlier.

This is in consonance with the Buddhist tradition that the said Maurya emperor built no less than eighty-four thousand *Stūpas* throughout his empire.[1] The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang, who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century A.D., says that he found a *Stūpa* built by Aśoka as far south as Kāñcīpura near Madras.[2] Hiuen-tsang also visited the headquarters of the country called T'e-na-ka-che-ka (i.e. Dhānya-kaṭaka, i.e., Dharaṇikoṭa near Amarāvatī) or Ta-An-to-lo (i.e., Great Andhra).[3] He does not speak of any Aśoka *Stūpa* there, though he refers to one Aśoka *Stūpa* at Ping-k'i-lo (probadly *Ping-k'i-pu-lo*, i.e., Veṅgīpura), the capital of the neighbouring An-to-lo or

[1] Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 172.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 226.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 216; Cunningham, *Geography of Ancient India*, ed. Majumdar Sastri, p. 623. Hiuen-tsang places the Pūrva-śaila and Apara-śaila to the east and west of the capital of the country.

Andhra country, and another at the capital of the Chu-li-ya country, i.e., the territory of the Telugu-Colas.[1] But the silence of the Chinese pilgrim regarding the existence of a *Stūpa* built by Aśoka at Dhānyakaṭaka or Amarāvatī cannot of course be regarded as definitely proving that none actually existed there. The present inscription seems to suggest that the Amarāvatī *Stūpa* was built by Aśoka about the middle of the third century B.C.

TEXT[2]

1. .... para[r]ta(tra) (/*) abh[isa][3] ....
2. .... [dha][4] kho likhite [m]e ....
3. .... jano[5] bahūni[6] ....
4. .... anusuyaṁti (/*) sa[7] ....
5. .... ra chijiti vijaye[8] ....
6. .... [pi ca] mam[e][9] pi ....
7. .... [pi ca tata tā] ....

TEXT IN NĀGARĪ SCRIPT

(1) I. … परर्त(त्र) (/*) II. अ[भिसि] … (2) … [इ*]ध खो लिखिते [मे] … (3) III. … जनो बहुनि … (4) IV. … अनुसुयंति (/*) V. स … (5) … र छिजिते विजये … (6) … [पि च] ममे(म) पि … (7) … [पि च तत ता] …

[1] Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 224. The pilgrim saw an Aśoka *Stūpa* at the capital of Kaliṅga, probably at Kaliṅganagara, modern Mukhaliṅgam near Śrikākuḷam (*ibid.*, p. 198), but may not have visited Sālihuṇḍām, in the Srikakulam District, where also there was probably a *Stūpa* built by Aśoka according to an early tradition (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 88, note 2).

[2] From impressions.

[3] The intended word may be *abhisita*.

[4] The intended word may be *idha*.

[5] Above this word, there are traces looking like the *akṣaras nera*. It is difficult to say whether they were actually incised or are mere marks on the stone.

[6] The *akṣara* after *ni* is unrecognisable.

[7] The *akṣara* following *sa*, which was endowed with an *e-mātrā*, is unrecognisable, but may be *me*.

[8] The *akṣara* following *ye* is unrecognisable.

[9] Read *mama*. The reading of the last three *akṣaras* may also be *m[ā]m=api*; but, as indicated above, that is less likely.

Appendix I

NIṬṬŪR VERSION OF MRE I-II

A recent discovery of Aśoka's MRE I and MRE II was announced in the newspapers late in the year 1977, e.g., in the Calcutta edition of *The Statesman* dated September 29, 1977. The discovery was made in the village of Niṭṭūr (about 30 miles to the north of Bellary) in the Siruguppa Taluk of the Bellary District of Karnataka, the two inscribed boulders belonging to the hills lying about 1½ km. to the south of the village. We know that MRE I has so far been discovered at fifteen other places out of which MRE II has been found only at five and that, in Karnataka, MRE I was formerly traced at six places and MRE II only at three of them. Thus we have here the sixteenth version of MRE I and the sixth copy of MRE II. The Niṭṭūr inscription raises the number of MRE I copies discovered in Karnataka from six to seven and that of MRE II versions from three to four.

We are told that E. Visvanatha, a junior engineer of the Office of the Senior Geologist at Bellary wrote to the Department of History and Archaeology, Karnatak University, Dharwar, about the existence of the boulders situated near each other and exhibiting some writing on them, which he had noticed on the Niṭṭūr hills. The inscription is then stated to have been examined by Dr. S. Settar, Director of the Institute of Indian Art History and Professor of History and Archaeology, Karnatak University, and his colleague, Dr. S. Rajasekhara.

My study of MRE I and MRE II at Niṭṭūr was made possible by a set of photographs received from Professor S. H. Ritti of the Karnatak University about the middle of January, 1978, and a set of inked impressions supplied early in August, 1978, by Mr. K. G. Krishnan, who became Chief Epigraphist on Mr. Srinivasan's retirement on the 30th June, 1978. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Ritti and Mr. Krishnan who were my esteemed colleagues and assistants when I happened to be Government Epigraphist for India.

When the report on the discovery of the Niṭṭūr inscription appeared in the newspapers with the photograph of a part of the writing, it was supposed to be very easy to decipher the epigraphic record. Indeed, I was often told that some people had prepared their transcripts of the edicts and were going to publish them in the near future. When, however, I was examining the inscription, first from photographs and then from impressions, I realised how misleading the idea was. As a matter of fact, the text of the edicts is difficult to decipher not only because many letters and passages, quite big at places, are totally lost here and there, but also because the language of the text is somewhat different from the published versions of MRE I and MRE II, though the later discovered Uḍegoḷam texts are similar to the Niṭṭūr copies.

The writing of MRE I at Niṭṭūr, in seven lines, covers a space about four feet in

height and about eighteen feet and a half in length while that of MRE II, in five lines, spreads over an area about three feet high and nineteen feet and three quarters long. The *akṣaras* are not of uniform height. In MRE I they vary in height between three and a half and eight inches. In average, the *akṣaras* in MRE II are somewhat smaller in size than those of MRE I.

The lines of writing are not always straight in either of the edicts. In lines 1-6 of MRE I, each following line begins from a point considerably to the left of the commencement of the preceding line. The end of the lines is again not uniform. Thus their length also lacks uniformity. As a result of this peculiarity, the height of the central section of the inscribed area is 3′ 11″ inches while it is 1′ 1½″ inches at the left side and 3′ 2″ inches at the right. The writing of MRE II, lines 3 and 4, is very much damaged, about ten *akṣaras* in the first and nearly twenty in the second being lost almost beyond recognition. It seems that damage on the surface of the rock compelled the engraver to leave some space between two *akṣaras* in a few cases; e.g., between *ta* and *vi* in *apacāyitaviye* (line 3) and between *thā* and *ra* in [*ya*°]*thāraham* (line 4). Not only the lines of writing are not straight, even two groups of *akṣaras* of the same words, in a few cases, are engraved in upper and lower levels. Thus, in the words *dayitaviye* and *pavatitaviyā* in line 2, the *akṣaras dayita* are in an upper level than *viye* while the *akṣaras viyā* are likewise on a lower level than *pavatita*. There are some errors of both omission and commission in MRE of the scribe or of the engraver; e.g., *ma* omitted in *paka-(ma*°)*mīnena* (line 4) and also *pakeme* (line 6) for *pakame* and *sāvāpitene* (line 6) for *sāvaṇe*. Cf. again what looks like *adhvikāni* for *adhikāni* (line 1) and *taṭhā* for *tathā* (line 7).

As regards the palaeographical peculiarity of the Early Brāhmī script in which the edicts are written as expected, *kha* in *kho* (line 2) appears without the globular mark or dot at the lower end while *ba* has a somewhat roundish form and is not of the angular box type (see, e.g., *b*[*ā*]*ḍhaṁ* is MRE I, line 2). The *akṣara ra* is often of the corkscrew type; but sometimes it has the straight form (e.g. in *rājā* in MRE I, line 7). The medial signs of *ā* and *e* with *tha* are indicated by slanting strokes added to the top right and top left corners respectively (see *vy*[*u*]*thena* and *yathā* in the same line). The medial *i* sign often begins not from the top of the upper stroke of *akṣaras* like *sa*, but from a point a little lower down (cf., e.g., *si* in *Jaṁbu-dipasi* in line 3 and the second *vaḍhisiti* in line 6). The sign of *anusvāra* is sometimes found at the right side of an *akṣara* (cf. *b*[*ā*]*ḍhaṁ* in MRE I, line 2; *Jaṁbu*°, *ibid.*, line 3), etc.

There are some points of interest in regard to the language and orthography of the Niṭṭūr inscription. Of considerable importance is the change of Sanskrit *ra* to *la* in the word *ācāliye* (Sanskrit *ācāryaḥ*) in MRE II, line 3. So long this modification was not noticed in the southern versions of the MRE except at Maski. Even at Eṟṟaguḍi where the fourteen Rock Edicts are couched in the Māgadha Prakrit in which *ra* is modified to *la* in all cases, the text of MRE I and MRE II at that place is characterised by the retention of *ra* of Sanskrit words. Of orthographical interest are the words *pakameyvu* and *jāneyvu* (MRE I, line 5). Sanskrit *śakyaḥ* is written as *sake* (i.e. *sakke*) and not as

sakiye (MRE I, lines 4 and 5) while *hastyā°* and *yugyā°* are written respectively as *hathā°* (i.e. *hatthā°*) and *yugā°* (i.e. *yuggā°*) in MRE II, line 3 even though we have *ācaliye apacāyitaviye ca sususitaviye ca* (Sanskrit *ācāryaḥ apacāyitavyaḥ ca śuśrūṣitavyaḥ ca*), etc., in the same edict, lines 3-4.

The importance of the concluding section of MRE I at Niṭṭūr lies in the fact that it not only mentions the personal name of king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin as Aśoka, but also contains an interesting sentence which is not found in any other of the fifteen known versions of the edict. It will be seen that, among the published versions of MRE I, only the Gujarrā and Maski copies mention the personal name of the king as we have already said; but the royal name occurs in these versions in the first sentence, that is to say, at the beginning of the edict, while it is found in the concluding sentence of the Niṭṭūr copy of MRE I.

The concluding sentences of the said edict reads—*iyaṁ ca sāvāpitene* (*sāvaṇe*) *sāvāpite vyuthena 256* (/°) *sava-paṭhaviyaṁ ca vivāsite ti* (/°) *yathā rājā Asoko āha taṭhā-(thā) ti* (/°) Sanskrit: *idaṁ ca* [*śrāvaṇaṁ*] *śrāvitaṁ vyuṣitena 256* (/°) *sarva-pṛthivyāṁ vivāsitam=iti* (/°) *yathā rājā Aśokaḥ āha tathā iti* (/°) "This declaration was announced by [the king] when he was away [from his capital on a tour of pilgrimage] for 256 [nights, i.e. days]. [It] has been dispatched throughout the whole earth (i.e. to different parts of Aśoka's empire). [This has been done] in the way as it was said (i.e. ordered) by king Aśoka." The expression *sarva-pṛthivī* (i.e. the whole earth) has been used here in the sense of Aśoka's empire as in RE V, line 7, at Dhauli.

The Niṭṭūr version of MRE II has also its own importance. In one respect, the Niṭṭūr text is unique among the versions of the edict so far discovered. This is because it mentions the personal name of its issuer in the very first sentence exactly as the Gujarrā and Maski versions of MRE I. The first sentence of the Niṭṭūr copy of MRE II reads *rājā Asoko hevam āha* (Sanskrit *rājā Aśokaḥ evam=āha*, "Thus saith king Aśoka)".

Thus we see that the king's personal name occurs in two consecutive sentences at Niṭṭūr, i.e., the last sentence of the first and the first sentence of the second edict which is written in continuation of the former. This, coupled with the fact that MRE II does not accompany MRE I at all places, seems to show that the former was issued sometime later than the latter particularly for the southernmost areas of Aśoka's empire, although the reason underlying this is not known.

TEXT[1]

MRE I

1. (I) Devā[naṁ]piyo he[vaṁ] āha (/°) (II) adhvi(dhi)kāni aḍhātiyāni [va]sāni yaṁ . .[2]

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[1] From photographs and impressions.

[2] The Uḍegoḷam version has *hakaṁ* at this place.

2.[1] [u]pāsake [no cu] kho b[ā]ḍhaṁ pakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ [sa]ṁvacharaṁ (/°) (III) sātireke tu kho[2] saṁvachare yaṁ mayā saṁghe u-[3]

3.[4] payi[te°] . .[5] ca me pakaṁ[t]e (/°) (IV) imi[n]ā cu kālena amisa . . . .[6] munisā Jaṁbudipasi mi[sā] [deve]-

4.[7] [hi] (/°) (V) pakamasa hi [iya°]ṁ pha[le] (/°) (VI) [no] hi iyaṁ [mahapten=eva] sake pāpotave (/°) (VII) kāma[ṁ°] . .[8] [khuda]ken=āpi paka(ma°)mī[ne]na vi[pule] [svage]

5.[9] sake ārādhayitave[10] (/°) (VIII) [sa] [e]tāya iyaṁ a[thā]ya [sāvaṇe] sāvāpite yathā [khu]dakā ca ma[ha]pā ca imaṁ pakameyvu aṁ[t]ā pi ca me [jāne]y[vu] ti (/°)[11]

6.[12] (IX) cira-thitike [ca] i[ya]ṁ pake(ka)me hoti (/°) (X) imaṁ ca v[ip]u[le] vaḍh[isiti] [bāḍha°]ṁ ca vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā diyaḍh[i]yaṁ [vaḍhis]iti (/°) (XI) iyaṁ ca sāvāpite[ṇe]1[3]

7.[14] [sā]vāpite v[yu]thena [200 50 6] (/°) XII) [sava-pa]ṭhaviyaṁ ca vivā[s]ite ti (/°) (XIII) yathā rā[j]ā Asoko āha taṭhā(thā) ti (//°)

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.

(II) It is more than two years and a half that I have become an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha), but was not excessively zealous [in the cause of Dharma] for one year.

(III) However, it is more than a year that I have been intimately associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church) and have been exerting myself [in the cause of Dharma].

(IV) By this time, in Jambu-dvīpa (i.e. Aśoka's empire), people who were unmingled [with gods] have been mingled with the gods.

(V) This is the result of [my] exertion [in the cause of Dharma].

[1] This line begins from a point which is about five *akṣaras'* space before the commencement of line 1.

[2] No dot or globular mark expected at the lower end of the *akṣara* is visible on the impressions.

[3] The line ends about four *akṣaras'* space ahead of the previous line.

[4] The beginning of line is from a point about four or five *akṣaras'* space before the commencement of line 2.

[5] The lost *akṣaras* are no doubt *bāḍhaṁ*.

[6] The three or four *akṣaras* lost here may have been *saṁta ye* or *samānā ye*.

[7] This line begins from a point nearly four *akṣaras'* space before the commencement of line 3.

[8] Two or three *akṣaras* are lost here. The words may have been *cu kho*.

[9] The line begins about three *akṣaras'* space behind the commencement of line 4.

[10] What has been read as *ta* looks like *tā* on the impressions.

[11] The line ends at a point before the end of the previous line.

[12] This line begins about two or three *akṣaras'* space before the beginning of line 5.

[13] Read *sāvaṇe*.

[14] Line 7 begins from a point not removed from the commencement of line 6.

(VI) Indeed, it is not only the big (i.e. rich) men who are capable of achieving this.

(VII) Even the small (i.e. poor) man, who exerts himself [in the cause of Dharma], can attain the great heaven.

(VIII) Thus this declaration has been issued for the purpose that small and big men (i.e. the rich and the poor) exert [in respect of] this [matter] and the people living on the borders [of Aśoka's empire] may know [about it].

(IX) And [in this way] this exertion [in the cause of Dharma] becomes everlasting.

(X) This [exertion] will increase to a considerable extent, will increase greatly [and] will increase more or less to one and half times.

(XI) This declaration has been issued [by the king] when he was away [from his capital on a tour of pilgrimage after the elapsing of] 256 [nights, i.e. days of the tour].

(XII) [This edict] has been dispatched throughout the entire earth (i.e. Aśoka's empire).

(XIII) [This has been done] in the way as it was said (i.e. ordered) by king Aśoka.

MRE II

1. (I) [r]ājā Asoko hevaṁ āha (/°) (II) tuphe ānapayātha Rajuke (/°) (III) [se] [ā]napayisati j[ā]napadaṁ ca janaṁ Raṭhikāni ca (/°) (IV) mātā-pitūsu sususita[v]iye ti (/°) (V) [h]emeva garusu (/°)

2. (VI) pānesu ca dayitaviy[e] ti (/°) (VII) ime dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviyā [t]i (/°) (VIII) . .[1] [tu°]phe Rajuka[2] ānapayātha (/°) (IX) se dān[i°] Devānaṁpiyasa vaca-[ne][na°] [ā]na[pay]i[sa]t[i] t[i°] (/°) (X) se hemeva āna[pa]yātha[3] (/°) (XI) he[meva°] [ca]

3. Bamhanāni[4] ca hath-ārohāni[5] ca kāraṇakāni ca yug-ā[cariyāni][6] ca (/°) (XII) . . . .[7] [yādisī°] [po]rānā pakit[i] . .[8] (/°) (XIII) . .[9] [āna°[pa]y[i]sati (/°) (XIV . .[10] sususitaviya ti (/°) (XV) iyaṁ apacāyitaviye[11] ti (/°) (XVI) ācāliye apacāyi-

[1] The lost *akṣaras* here may have been *hevaṁ*.

[2] What has been read as *fu* may be *fū*.

[3] Some space is left out by the engraver between *na* and *pa*.

[4] *Ba* looks like *bu* on the impressions; but the intended reading does not appear to be *brā*.

[5] It is difficult to say whether a mark much below the *akṣara thā* can be taken to be the trace of a subscript *ya*.

[6] There is no trace of any subscript *ya* below *gā*.

[7] About ten *akṣaras* are lost here. The lost portion seems to have contained the words *tuphe nivesayātha aṁtevāsini ti*.

[8] The *akṣara ti* may have been engraved here. In the Erragudi copy we have *hevaṁ ānapayātha hathiyārohāni yugyācariyāni Baṁbhanānī ca tuṁphe (/°) hevaṁ nivesayātha aṁtevāsini yārisā porānā pakiti (/°)*.

[9] The *akṣara se* may have been incised here.

[10] The word lost here may have been *hevaṁ*.

[11] Some space is left out by the engraver between *ta* and *vi*.

4. taviye ca susūsitaviye ca (/°) (XVII) ye ācali ....[1] ti[2] (/°) (XVIII) [i°]yaṁ [ya°]thārahaṁ [pa°]vatita[v]iy[e] ti y[ā]d[i]sī porānā paki[t]i (/°) (XIX) ·yathā[3]

5. hi sātireke huveyā tathā pavatitav[i]ye [ti] (//°)[4]

TRANSLATION

(I) Thus saith king Aśoka.

(II) You (i.e. the *Kumāra* and his *Mahāmātras*) [should] pass orders on the Rajjuka.

(III) He will pass orders on the people of the countryside as well as on the Rāṣṭrikas.

(IV) "[One] should be obedient to [one's] parents."

(V) "In the same way, [one should be obedient] to one's elders."

(VI) "[One] should be kind to the living beings."

(VII) "One should propound these attributes of Dharma."

(VIII) [Thus] you should pass orders on the Rajjuka.

(IX) He will then pass orders [on his subordinates] in the words of the Beloved of the Gods.

(X) Therefore you should pass orders [on the Rajjuka].

(XI) And in the same way, [orders should be passed on] the Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the teachers of the Brāhmaṇa community), elephant-riders, scribes and charioteers.

(XII) '[You should instruct your pupils] in accordance with what is the ancient usage.'

(XIII) [He, i.e. the Rajjuka] will pass orders [as follows].

(XIV) "[This instruction] should be obeyed [in the same way.]"

(XV) "This should be held in respect."

(XVI) "The teacher should be honoured and obeyed."

(XVII) "Again, those who are the teacher's [kinsmen, among them also the instructions should be established.]"

(XVIII) "This should be established in the proper manner in accordance with what is the ancient usage."

(XIX) "[This] should be established in such a way that it becomes abundant."

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[1] About twenty *akṣaras* are lost here. The passage may have been *ye pi ācaliyasa nātikā tesu pi yathārahaṁ pavatitaviyā ti.*

[2] The Uḍegoḷam copy suggests that this is not the last *akṣara* of the passage *yādisī porānā pakiti.*

[3] There is no trace here of any word like *iyaṁ.*

[4] The Uḍegoḷam copy has after this—*hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsini.* In the Erraguḍi copy we have after the passage quoted above: *iyaṁ sususitaviye (/°) apacāyanā ya vā ācariyasa sa hemeva (/°) yathā vā puna ācariyasa yathārahaṁ nātikāsu pravatitaviye (/°) hesā pi aṁtevāsisu yathārahaṁ pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti (/°) yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ satireke siyā hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsini (/°) hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye ānapayati (/°)*

APPENDEX II

UḌEGOḶAM VERSION OF MRE I-II

While the Aśokan edicts at Niṭṭūr were discovered in August, 1977, another set of the same two records, engraved likewise on two boulders standing close to each other, was found in the neighbouring village of Uḍegoḷam seven months later, the discovery being announced by the Director of Archaeology, Karnataka State, in the month of March, 1978. The village lies about 3 miles to the south-west of Niṭṭūr. I received a set of photographs of the Uḍegoḷam edicts from Professor S.H. Ritti of the Karnatak University, Dharwar, to whom my sincere thanks are due. Professor Ritti also laid me under a deep debt of gratitude by presenting me with a copy of a paper on the Aśokan edicts at Niṭṭūr and Uḍegoḷam which he had read at the Fifth Conference of the Epigraphical Society of India held at Bangalore in January, 1979, and was still awaiting publication in the Society's Journal, Vol. V.

It is well known that MRE I or both MRE I and II when found at more places than one in the same neighbourhood, as those at Gavīmaṭh and Pālkīgundu, at Erraguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, and at Brahmagiri, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Siddāpura, have texts which look more or less like close copies form the same draft. The same is the case with the Niṭṭūr and Uḍegoḷam versions. At Niṭṭūr, the text of MRE II is demaged while, at Uḍegoḷam, it is the text of MRE I that is damaged. The damaged texts of the edicts at one place are thus considerably restorable with the help of the better preserved texts at the other locality. Because the beginning and end of MRE I are both totally lost at Uḍegoḷam, the personal name of Aśoka is noticed in this version only at the commencement of MRE II. The two sets of MRE now discovered in the Bellary District are closer to their copies found in the Karnul District than those in the Chitradurga District.

The Uḍegoḷam text of MRE I is written in six lines, all of which have lost a number of *akṣaras* at the beginning and also at the end. The preserved portion shows about 15 *akṣaras* in each of lines 1 and 2 but only about 4 in line 6. The lost *akṣaras* at the beginning of line 1, as indicated by the Nittūr text, show that they were about 21 in number while the loss of 23 *akṣaras* at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 would suggest that the letters lost at the end of the lines at the right side were few. Of course the lost *akṣaras* in the concluding part of lines 3-6 is more in number. It is about 14 *akṣaras* in the case of each of lines 3-5. However, the concluding words of MRE I at Nittūr are too many to be all accommodated at the end of line 6 if its length was similar, as expected, to that of the previous lines of writing. Thus, in case the Uḍegoḷam text of this part was similar to the corresponding section of the Niṭṭūr copy, some *akṣaras* may have been incised in a seventh line because the loss at the end of line 6 would be of about 30 *akṣaras* which are too many for the limited space at the place.

The preservation of the writing in MRE II in eight lines is not bad, but is of course not fully satisfactory. The lines of writing are not straight and some *akṣaras* are more or less rubbed or broken off here and there. Thus in [*da*]*yitha*(*ta*)*viye* in line 2, *yithaviye* is engraved at a distance considerably above the level of the damaged *da*, probably because, in this case, there was an original damage in the stone.

The palaeography of the Uḍegoḷam edicts is similar to that of the Niṭṭūr versions. An interesting new feature of the records at Uḍegoḷam is the occasional use of a mark of punctuation which is in some cases not a *daṇḍa* as even here in a few cases as well as in the Kālsī RE and the Sahasrām MRE I but looks somewhat like a curve open to the left (cf. MRE I, line 2, twice; MRE II, lines 4, 5 and 6), a variety known from Kālsī.

As regards orthography, the present version resembles the Niṭṭūr copy; but here we have *ācāriya* and *ācariya* (not *ācaliya*), but *yathālahaṁ* (for *yathārahaṁ*).

TEXT[1]

MRE I

1. . . . .[2] yaṁ hakaṁ upāsake (/°) [no°] tu kho bāḍhaṁ pa[kaṁte] . . . .[3]

2. . . . . [bā]ḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte/imiṇa cu k[ā]leṇa / amisa . . . .[4]

3. . . . . [no] hi iyaṁ ma[ha]pten=eva sake pā . . . .[5]

4. . . . . etāya iyaṁ [a] . . . .[6]

5. . . . . [cira-ṭh]itike ca iyaṁ pakame . . . .[7]

6. . . . . [sāvaṇe] sāvāpite [vyu][8] . . . .

MRE II

1. rājā Asoko Devānaṁpiyo hevaṁ āpa(ha) (/°) tuphe ānapayātha Rajūkaṁ (/°) se ānapayisiti j[ā]napadaṁ [ca] janaṁ Raṭhikāni

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[1] From photographs.

[2] Niṭṭūr—*Devānaṁpiyo hevaṁ āha* (/°) *adhvikāni aḍhātiyāni vasāni.*

[3] Niṭṭūr—*husaṁ ekaṁ saṁvacharaṁ* (/°) *sātireke tu kho saṁvachare yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayite.*

[4] Niṭṭūr—[*saṁta ye*°] *munisā Jaṁbudīpasi misā devehi* (/°) *pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale* (/°).

[5] Niṭṭūr—*pāpotave* (/°) *kāmaṁ cu kho khudaken=āpi paka*(*ma*°)*mīnena vipule svage sake ārādhetave* (/°) se.

[6] Niṭṭūr—*athāya sāvaṇe sāvāpite yathā khudakā ca mahapā ca iyaṁ pakameyvu* (/°) *aṁtā pi ca me jāneyvu ti* (/°).

[7] Niṭṭūr—*hoti* (/°) *iyaṁ ca vipule vaḍhisiti bāḍhaṁ ca vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisiti* (/°) *iyaṁ ca.*

[8] Niṭṭūr—*vyuthena 256* (/°) *sava-paṭhaviyaṁ ca vivāsite ti* (/°) *yathā rājā Asoko āha taṭhā*(*thā*) *ti* (/°).

2. ca (/°) mātā-pitusu sususitaviye ti (/°) hevam=eva garusu (/°) pānesu ca [da]yitha-(ta)[vi]ye[1] ti (/°) ime dhaṁmagunā pavatitaviyā ti (/°) [he]-

3. vaṁ tuphe Rajūkaṁ ānapayātha (/°) se tā(dā)ni Devā[naṁ]piyasa vacanena ānapa-yisati ti (/°) [ta][2] ta hemeva ānapayatha ca ti (/°) Baṁbhanāni ca hath-āro[hā]-

4. [ni] ca kāranakāni ca yug-ā[ca]]riyāni ca°] (/°) [tu]phe nivesayātha aṁt[evā]sisi(ni) yādisi porā[nā pakiti] (/°) [se ānapa]yisa[ti ca] (/°) [susu]sitaviye ti / iyaṁ

5. ca apacāyitaviye ti / se ācāriyasa[3] apacā[yi]va(ta)viye ca sususitaviye (ca /°) ye pi ca ācariyasa nātikā / tasu[4] pi yathālahaṁ pavatitaviye ti (/°)

6. hemeva [ca] pati[v]ās[i]su pi yathā[la]haṁ pavatitaviye / yā[di]si porānā pakiti (/°) yathā iyaṁ [hi] sāti[re]ke huveya tathā pavativa(ta)viye ti (/°) hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha

7. nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsini ti (/°)[13]

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[1] There seems to be a break in the stone after *da* so that *yi* together with the following *akṣaras* have been engraved at a distance above the level of the early part of the line.

[2] The *akṣara* is probably not *sa*.

[3] Better read *ācāriye*.

[4] It is difficult to determine from the photograph whether the vowel mark attached to *ta* is *e* or *ā* so that we are not sure if the word is *ñātika* or *ñātikā*.

Appendix III

SYNOPTICAL TEXTS OF MRE I-II

MRE I

A

AHRAURĀ: .... [Devānaṁ°) piyo (/°) sāti[lekāni°] ....

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): Devānaṁpiye ahā (/°)

BAIRĀṬ: Devānaṁpiye āhā (/°)

BRAHMAGIRI: Suvaṁṇagirīte Aya-putasa Mahāmātānaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi Mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā (/°) hevaṁ ca vataviyā (/°) Devānaṁpiye ānapayati (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: Devānaṁpiye hevāha (/°)

GAVĪMAṬH: Devānaṁpiye āha (/°)

GUJARRĀ: Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasino Asokarājasa (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: .... tāna ca va .... Isi .... viyā (/°) Devāna ....

MASKI: Devanaṁpiyasa Asokasa (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: Devā[naṁ]piyo he[vaṁ] āha (/°)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU: ....

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ (PĀNGURĀRIĀ): Piyadasi-nāma rājā Kumārasa Saṁvasa Māṇema-dese U(O?)punitha-vihāra-yatāye (/°) sāvaṇaṁ viyuthe[na 2]56 (/°) Devānaṁpiye āṇapayati (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: Devānaṁpiye hevāha (/°)

RŪPNĀTH: Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āhā (/°)

SAHASRĀM: Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ ā[ha°] (/°)

SIDDĀPURA: Suvaṁṇagirīte Aya-putasa Mahāmātānaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi Mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā (/°) Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āha (/°)

UḌEGOḶAM: ....

B

AHRAURĀ: sādhikā[ni°] .... [no°] ca bāḍhaṁ palakaṁte (/°)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): sātilekāni aḍhātiyāni vasāni yaṁ hake upāsake (/°) no ca bāḍhiṁ palakate ma(me) (/°)

BAIRĀṬ: sāti .... vasāni ya hakaṁ upāsake (/°) no cu bāḍhaṁ ....

BRAHMAGIRI: adhikāni aḍhātiyāni vasāni ya hakaṁ .... sake (/°) no tu kho bāḍhaṁ rpakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ savacharaṁ (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: adhikāni [aḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni°] ya hakaṁ upāsake (/°) no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvacharaṁ pakaṁte husaṁ (/°)

GAVĪMAṬH: sātirekāṇi aḍhatiyāṇi vasāṇi yaṁ sumi upāsake (/°) no cu kho bāḍhaṁ pakaṁte (/°)

GUJARRĀ: aḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni upāsake=smi (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: . . . . ya hakaṁ . . . . kho bāḍha . . . .

MASKI: . . . . aḍhatiyāni [vasā°]ni aṁ sumi Budh-u(pā°)śa(sa)ke (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: adhvi(dhi)kāni aḍhatiyāni [va]sāni yaṁ . . . . upāsake (/°) [no cu] kho b[ā]ḍhaṁ pakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ [sa]ṁvacharaṁ (/°)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU: ....

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ: aḍhatiyāni vasāni yate sumi upāsake (/°) no ca bā[ḍhaṁ] pakāte husaṁ ti va (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: adhikāni ca a[ḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni yaṁ hakaṁ upāsa°]-ke (/°) no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvachara pakaṁte husaṁ (/°)

RŪPNĀTH: sātirakekāni (sātirekāni) aḍhatiyāni va(sāni°) ya sumi prakāsa Sake (/°) no cu bāḍhi pakate (/°)

SAHASRĀM: . . . . [t°]iyāni saṁvachalāni / aṁ upāsake sumi / no cu bāḍhaṁ pala-kaṁte (/°)

SIDDĀPURA: adhikāni aḍhātiyāni vasāni ya hakaṁ upāsake (/°) no tu kho bāḍha pakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ savacha[raṁ°] (/°)

UḌEGOḶAM: . . . . yaṁ hake upāsake (/°) no tu kho bāḍhaṁ pa[kaṁte] (/°)

C

AHRAURĀ: .... [bāḍhaṁ] ca palakaṁte (/°)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): sātileke savachale aṁ hamaye [Saṁgha upayatā(yāta)] bāḍhiṁ ca palakaṁte (/°)

BAIRĀṬ: . . . . aṁ mamayā Saghe upayāte bāḍha ca . . . .

BRAHMAGIRI: sātireke tu kho saṁvachareṁ(re) yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: sātireke cu kho savachare yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/°)

GAVĪMAṬH: saṁvachare sātireke yaṁ me Saṁghe upeti bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/°)

GUJARRĀ: sādhike saṁvachare ya ca me Saṁghe yāte tī ahaṁ bāḍhaṁ ca para-kaṁte tī āhā (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: . . . . tireke . . . . yaṁ [ma°]yā . . . .

MASKI: . . . . [sāti°]reke [aṁ su°]mi Saṁghaṁ upagate . . . . ca sumi upagate (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: sātireke tu kho saṁvachare yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayi . . . . ca me pakaṁ-[t]e (/°)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU: ....

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ: saṁvacharaṁ [sādhikaṁ me sagha ya] yate bāḍha [ca] sumi pakaṁta (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: sātireke [tu kho°] .... [Saṁghe u°]payāte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/°)

RŪPNĀTH: sātileke cu cha(sa)vachare ya sumi hakaṁ Sagha upete bāḍhi ca pakate (/°)

SAHASRĀM: savachale sādhike / aṁ .... te (/°)

ŚIDDĀPURA: sātireke tu kho saṁvachare yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/°)

UḌEGOḶAM: .... [bā]ḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte /

D

AHRAURĀ: etena aṁtale[na°] .... [munisā°] misaṁ-devā kaṭā (/°) palakamasa i[yaṁ phale°] (/°)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): etena aṁtalena Jaṁbu-dīpasi ye amisā devehi saṁtaṁ manūsa misā devehi (/°) pa[lakamasa hi°] esa [phale°] (/°)

BAIRĀṬ: .... Jaṁbu-dipasi amisā na(ye) devehi .... mi .... (/°) . . kamasa esa . . le (/°)

BRAHMAGIRI: iminā cu kālena amisạ samānā munisā Jaṁbu-dīpasi misā devehi (/°) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: iminā cu kālena amisā ye munisā devehi te dāni misībhūtā (/°) pakamasa hi iyaṁ [phale°] (/°)

GAVĪMAṬH: se imāyaṁ velāyaṁ Jaṁbū-dīpasi amisā devā samānā māṇusehi se dāṇi misā kaṭā (/°) pakamasa esa phale (/°)

GUJARRĀ: etena aṁtarena Jaṁbu-dīpasi Devānaṁpiyasa amisaṁ-devā saṁto munisa misaṁ-devā kaṭā (/°) parakamasa iyaṁ phale (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: .... hi iyaṁ ....

MASKI: pure Jaṁbu[dīpa°]si .... husu te dāni misībhūtā (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: imi[n]ā cu kālena amisa .... munisā Jaṁbu-dipasi mi[sā] [devehi] (/°) pakamasa hi [iya°]ṁ pha[le] (/°)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU: .... māṇuse ....

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ: imaṁ ca kālaṁ Ja[ṁbu-dipa]si devā na [manusehi mi°]sībhūtā husu (/°) .... [pha°]la (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: iminā cu kālena ami[sa°] .... [misi°]bhūtā (/°) pakama-[sa h=īyaṁ°] phale (/°)

RŪPNĀTH: yā imāya kālāya Jaṁbudīpasi amisā devā husu te dāni misā kaṭā (misikaṭā?) (/°) pakamasi(sa) hi esa phale (/°)

SAHASRĀM: etena ca aṁtalena / Jaṁbu-dīpasi / aṁmisaṁ-devā / saṁta munisā misaṁ-deva kaṭā / pala . . . . iyaṁ phale (/°)

ŚIDDĀPURA: iminā cu kālena amisā samānā mu . . . . Jaṁbu-di . . . . misā devehi (/°) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (/°)

UḌEGOḶAM: imiṇa cu k[ā]leṇa / amisa . . . .

E

AHRAURĀ: [no h=īyaṁ maha°]tvana va sakya pāpotave (/°) khudakena pi palakamamīnenā vipule pi svaga sakye ālādhetave (/°)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): no ca esā mahatven=eva cake pāpotave (/°) khudakena pi pala[kamamī°]ne[na°] . . . . svage sakā(ke) ālādhetave (/°)

BAIRĀṬ: no hi ese mahatan=eva cakiye . . . . kamaminenā vipule pi svage cakye ālādhetave (/°)

BRAHMAGIRI: no h=īyaṁ sakye mahāpten=eva pāpotave (/°) kāmaṁ tu kho khuḍakena pi paka[mami]nena vipule sakye ārādhetave (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: (no h=īyaṁ°) mahapten=eva sakiye (/°) khuḍakena pi pakamamīnena sakiye vipule svage ārādhetave (/°)

GAVĪMAṬH: no hi iyaṁ mahaten=eva cakiye pāpotave (/°) khuḍakena pi pakamamīnena vipule pi cakiye svage ārādhayitave (/°)

GUJARRĀ: no ca iyaṁ mahatenā ti va cakiye pāpotave (/°) khudākena pī parakamamīnenā dhaṁmaṁ caramīnenā pānesū saṁyvatenā vipule pī svage cakiye ārādhayitave (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: . . . .

MASKI: iya aṭhe khudakena pi ḍhama-yutena sake adhigatave (/°) na hevaṁ ḍakhitaviye uḍālake va ima adhigacheyā ti (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: no hi iyaṁ [mahapten=eva] sake pāpotave (/°) kāma[ṁ°] . . . . [khuḍa]-ken=āpi paka(ma°)mī[ne]na vi[pule svage] sake ārādhayitave (/°)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU: no hi iyaṁ . . . . va . . . . mīneṇa vipule pi cakiye svage ārā . . . . (/°)

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ: [ṇo] ca esa mahāpa-karaṇeṇo(na) va (/°) khuda[ke] pi pakama . . . .

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: no h=īyaṁ mahapten=eva sakiye (/°) khuḍake[na pi pakamamīnena°] sakiye vipū[le svage ārādhe°]tave (/°)

RŪPNĀTH: no ca esā mahatatā pāpotave (/°) khudakena pi pakamaminenā sakiye pi(vi)pule pā(pi) svage āro(rā)dhe(ta°)ve (/°)

SAHASRĀM: no . . . . yaṁ mahatatā va pāvatave / khudakena pi palakamamīnenā vipule pi suaga [ca°]kiye ālā . . ve /

SIDDĀPURA: no hi iya sake ma . . . . ṇ=eva pāpotave (/°) kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi pa . . . . na vipule svage sake ārādhetave (/°)

UḌEGOḶAM: [no] hi iyaṁ mahapteṇ=eva sake pā . . . .

F

AHRAURĀ: etaye aṭhāye iyaṁ sāvane (/°) khudakā ca uḍālā ca palakamaṁtū (/°) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtū (/°) cila-ṭhītīke ca palakame hotū (/°)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): imāya aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvane (/°) khudakā ca uḍālā ca palakamaṁtū (/° [aṁtā°] pi ca jānaṁtū (/°) cila-ṭhitike palakame hoti (/°)

BAIRĀṬ: . . . . kā ca uḍālā cā palakamatu ti (/°) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu ti (/°) cila-ṭhiti . . . . (/°)

BRAHMAGIRI: etāy=aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvāpite (/°) . . . . mahāptā ca imaṁ pakameyu ti (/°) aṁtā ca mai(me) jāneyu (/°) cira-ṭhitīke ca iyaṁ paka . . . . (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: etāya ca aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvane sāvite (/°) athā khudaka-mahalakā imaṁ pi pakamevū (/°) aṁtā ca me jāvevu (/°) cira-ṭhitikā ca iyaṁ pakame hota (/°)

GAVĪMAṬH: etāya ca aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe (/°) khudakā ca uḍārā ca pakamaṁtu ti (/°) aṁtā pi ca jāṇamtu (/°) ciraṭhitīke ca pakame hotu (/°)

GUJARRĀ: se etāye aṭhāye iyaṁ sāvaṇe (/°) khudāke cā uḍāre cā dhaṁmaṁ caraṁtū yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū (/°) aṁtā pi cā jānaṁtū kiṁti [ca] cila-thitike dhaṁmaca[raṇe hotu°] (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: . . . .

MASKI:

NIṬṬŪR: [se e]tāya iyaṁ a[thā]ya [sāvane] sāvāpite yathā [khu]dakā ca ma[ha]pā ca imaṁ pakameyvu aṁ[t]ā pi ca me [jāne]y[vu] ti (/°) cira-thitike [ca] i[ya]ṁ pake(ka)me hoti (/°)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU: . . . . ca pakamaṁtu ti (/°) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu (/°) ci . . . . ke . . . .

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ: . . . . aṭhāyaesa sāvaṇe kitā(ti) khudakā [ca] uḍārakā ca paka . . . . kiti ete pi pakameyu ti (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: etāye ca aṭhāya [iyaṁ°] sāvane sāvite [athā khudakamaha°]lakā . . . . (/°) [aṁ°]tā ca me jānevu cira-ṭhitika ca iyaṁ pakame hota (/°)

RŪPNĀTH: etiya aṭhāya ca sāvane kaṭe (/°) khudakā ca uḍālā ca pakamatu ti (/°) ātā pi ca jānaṁtu iya pakarā(me) va kiti cira-ṭhitike siyā (/°)

SAHASRĀM: se etāye aṭhāye iyaṁ sāvāne / khudakā ca uḍālā cā palakamaṁtu (/°) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu / cila-ṭhitike ca palakame hotu /

SIDDĀPURA: se . . . . ya iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvite (/°) yathā khudakā ca mahāptā ca imaṁ pakameyu ti (/°) atā ca . . . . cira-ṭhitīke ca iyaṁ pakame hoti (/°)

UḌEGOḶAM: etāya iyaṁ [a] . . . . [cira-ṭh]itike ca iyaṁ pakame . . . .

G

AHRAURĀ: iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisati vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhisati diyaḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyā vaḍhisati (/°)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): e[ta°] ca aṭhe vipulaṁ pi vaḍhisati diyaḍhiyaṁ pi vaḍhisati (/°)

BAIRĀṬ: . . . . laṁ pi vaḍhisati . . . . diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati . . . .

BRAHMAGIRI: iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisiti (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhasitā(ti) avaradhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ (/°)

GAVĪMAṬH: iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipule ca vaḍhisiti diyaḍhiyaṁ pi ca vaḍhisiti ti (/°)

GUJARRĀ: [iyaṁ aṭhe vaḍhi°]siti ca enaṁ vā dhaṁmaṁ caraṁ atiyo (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: . . . . ca . . . . ḍhisa . . . . pulaṁ pi . . . . yaḍhiyaṁ . . . . / . . . .

MASKI: khudake ca uḍālake ca vataviyā—"hevaṁ ve kalaṁtaṁ bhadake se [aṭhe cila-ṭhi°]tike ca vaḍhisiti ca diyaḍhiyaṁ heva[ṁ" ti°] (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: iyaṁ ca v[ip]u[le] vaḍh[isiti] [bāḍha°]ṁ ca vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā diyaḍh[i]yaṁ [vaḍhis]iti (/°)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU: . . . . ca vaḍhisiti diyaḍhiyaṁ pi ca . . . .

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ: ayaṁ hi aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipula pica . . . . vaḍhi siti cira-ṭhitike ca hositi (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: vi[pule vaḍhisiti°] . . . .

RŪPNĀTH: iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula ca vaḍhisiti apaladhiyenā diyaḍhiya vaḍhisata(siti) (/°)

SAHASRĀM: iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisati / vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhisati diyaḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyenā diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati /

SIDDĀPURA: . . . . vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhisiti a . . . . yaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisiti (/°)

UḌEGOḶAM: . . . .

H

AHRAURĀ: esa sāvane vivuthena duve sapaṁnā-lāti-sati aṁ maṁche Budhasa salīle ālodhe ti /

BAHĀPUR (DELHI):

BAIRĀṬ: . . . .

BRAHMAGIRI: iyaṁ ca sāvāpite vyuthena 256 (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: iyaṁ ca sāvane sāvāpite vyūthena 256 (/°)

GAVĪMAṬH:

GUJARRĀ: iyaṁ ca sāvane vivuthena 256 (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: . . . . sāvaṇe . . . . thena 256 (/°)

MASKI:

NIṬṬŪR: iyaṁ ca sāvāpite[ṇe] (sāvaṇe) [sā]vāpite v[y]uthena [256] (/°) [savapa]ṭhaviyaṁ ca vivā[s]ite ti (/°) yathā rā[j]ā Asoko āhā taṭhā(thā) ti (/°)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU:

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ: yatha ca pavatā yatha ca sitā-thabhā . . . . ta vā)vi)ya ti (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: [iyaṁ°] ca sāvane sāvāpite vyūthena 256 (/°)

RŪPNĀTH: iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lekhāpeta vālata (/°) ha(hi)da ca aṭhi sā(si)lāṭhabhe silā-ṭhaṁbhasi la(li)khāpetavaya ta(ti) (/°) etinā ca vayajanenā yāvataka tupa-(phā)ka ahāle savara(ta) vivasetavā(vi)ya ti (/°) vyuṭhenā sāvane kaṭe (/°) 256 sata vivāsā ta(ti) (/°)

SAHASRĀM: iyaṁ ca savane vivuthena (/°) duve sapaṁnā-lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256 (/°) ima ca aṭhaṁ pavatesu likhāpayāthā (/°) ya[ta°] vā athi hetā silā-thaṁbhā tata pi likhāpayatha ti (/°)

SIDDĀPURA: iyaṁ ca sāvaṇe . . . . 256 (/°)

UḌEGOḶAṂ: . . . . [sāvaṇe] sāvāpite [vyu] . . . .

MRE II

A

BRAHMAGIRI: se hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye āha (/°)

ERRAGUḌI: hevaṁ Devānaṁdevānaṁ(Devānaṁ)piye āha (/°) yathā Devānaṁpiye āha tathā kaṭaviye (/°) Rajūke ānapetaviye (/°) se dāni jānapadaṁ ānapayisati Raṭhikāni cā (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA:

NIṬṬŪR: rājā Asoko hevaṁ āhā (/°) tuphe ānapayātha Rajuke (/°) se ānapayisati jānapadaṁ ca janaṁ Raṭhikāni ca (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: [hevaṁ] Devānaṁpiye āha (/°) yathā Devānaṁpi . . . . ye (/°) Rajūke ānapetaviye (/°) se dāni jānapadāni ānapayisati Raṭhikāni ca (/°)

SIDDĀPURA:

UḌEGOḶAM: rājā Asoko Devānaṁpiyo hevaṁ āpa(ha) (/°) tuphe ānapayātha Rajūkaṁ (/°) se ānapayisati jānapadaṁ ca janaṁ Raṭhikāni ca (/°)

B

BRAHMAGIRI: mātā-pitisu sususitaviye (/°) hemeva garusu (/°) prāṇesu drahyitaviyaṁ (/°) sacaṁ vataviyaṁ (/°) se ime dhaṁma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: mātā-pitūsu sususitaviye (/°) hemeva garusu sususitaviye (/°) rpānesu dayitaviye (/°) sace vataviye (/°) ima dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviyā (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: [heme]va [mātā]-pitusu [susu°]sitaviye (/°) hemeva . . . . na (/°) [pr°]ā[ṇ°]esu [dra°]hyitavyaṁ (/°) sacaṁ vataviyaṁ (/°) se ime . . . . hevaṁ pavatitaviyā (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: mātā-pitūsu sususitaviye ti (/°/ hemeva garusu (/°) pānesu ca dayitaviye ti (/°) ime dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviyā ti (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: mātā . . . . (/°) gurusu . . . . (/°) prānesū dayitaviye (/°) saca vataviye (/°) . . . . taviya (/°)

ŚIDDĀPURA: mā[tā°] . . . . [susu°]sitaviye (/°) . . . . [dra°]hyitavyaṁ (/°) sacaṁ vata[vi°]yaṁ (/°) ime dhaṁma-gu[ṇā°] . . . .

UḌEGOḶAM: mātā-pitusu sususitaviye ti (/°) hevam=eva garusu (/°) pānesu ca dayitha(ta)viye ti (/°) ime dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviyā ti (/°)

C

BRAHMAGIRI: hemeva aṁtevāsinā ācariye apacāyitaviye (/°) nātikesu ca kaṁ ya-[thā°]rahaṁ pavatitaviye (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: hevaṁ tuṁphe ānapayātha Devānaṁpiya-vacanena (/°) hevaṁ ānapayātha hathiy-ārohāni kāranakāni yugy-ācariyāni Baṁbhanāni ca tuṁphe (/°) hemeva nivesayātha aṁtevāsini yārisā porānā pakiti (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: [svaaṁ] na tesa ta vasa . . . . taviya (/°) hemeva ācariye aṁtevāsinā . . . . [po°]rānā pakiti (/°) . . . . sitaviyā (/°) . . . . viye (/°) [ā°]cariye aṁ . . . . ācariyaśa(sa) ñātikā te[su pi°] lathārahaṁ [pava]titaviye (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: [tu°]phe Rajuka ānapayātha (/°) se dān[i°] Devānaṁpiyasa vacane[na°] ānapayisati t[i°] (/°) se hemeva ānapayātha (/°) he[meva°] ca Bamhanāni ca hath-ārohāni ca kāraṇakāni ca yug-ā[cariyāni] ca (/°) . . . . [yādisi°] porānā . . . . (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: hevaṁ tuphe āna[pa°]yātha Devānaṁpiya-vacanena (/°) . . . . tha ha . . . . kāranikāni yugy-ācariyāni Baṁbhanāki(ni) ca tuphe (/°) . . . . aṁte . . . . pakiti (/°)

ŚIDDĀPURA: hemeva aṁ[tevāsinā°] ācariye apacāyitaviye (/°) su . . . .

UḌEGOḶAM: hevaṁ tuphe Rajūkaṁ ānapayātha (/°) se tā(dā)ni Devānaṁpiyasa vacanena ānapayisati ti (/°) tata hemeva ānapayātha ca ti (/°) Bamhanāni ca hath-ārohāni ca kāranakāni ca yug-āca[riyāni ca] (/°) tuphe nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsisi(ni) yādisi porānā [pakiti] (/°)

D

BRAHMAGIRI: esā porānā pakiti dīghāvuse ca esa (/°) hevaṁ esa kaṭiviye (/°) Capaḍena likhite

[*Kharoṣṭhī*]—lipikareṇa (/°)

EṚṚAGUḌI: iyaṁ sususitaviye (/°) apacāyanā ya vā ācariyasa sa hemeva (/°) yathā vā puna ācariyasa nātikāni yathārahaṁ nātikāsu pravatitaviye (/°) hesā pi [aṁ]tevāsīsu yathārahaṁ pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti (/°) yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ sa(sā)tiro(re)ke siyā hevaṁ tuṁphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsini (/°) hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye ānapayati (/°)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA: esā porānā pakiti dīghā . . . . ca (/°) hemeva śa . . . . ca ya . . . . [pa°]vatitaviye (/°) hevaṁ [dhaṁm]e Devānaṁpi[ya][sa°] . . . . [va]ṁ kaṭaviye (/°) [Capa°]ḍena [likhita]ṁ

[*Kharoṣṭhī*] — [li°]pikareṇa (/°)

NIṬṬŪR: . . . . [āna°]payisati (/°) . . . . susuitaviye ti (/°) iyaṁ apacāyitaviye ti (/°) ācāliye apacāyitaviye ca susuitaviye ca (/°) ye pi ācali . . . . ti (/°) [i°]yaṁ [ya°]thārahaṁ [pa°]vatitaviye ti yādisī porānā paki[t]i (/°) yathā hi sātireke huveyā tathā pavatitaviye ti (/°)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI: . . . . viye (/°) apacāya . . . . se ācariya[sa°] (/°) . . . . vā pana nātikāni yathāraha nātikasu pavatitaviye (/°) . . . . ate . . . . viya yārisā porānā pakati (/°) yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ . . . . siya . . . . tha ānapayātha ca aṁtevāsi[ni°] (/°) . . . . [ā°]napa[yati°] (/°)

SIDDĀPURA: esā porānā [pa°]kitī dīghāvuse ca (/°) hemeva . . . . [a°]ṁtevāsine ca ācariy[e] . . . . [ya°]thārahaṁ pavatitav[iye°] . . . . sa tathā kaṭaviye (/°) Capa . . . .

[*Kharoṣṭhī*] — . . . . [ṇa] (/°)

UḌEGOḶAM: se ānapayisati ca (/°) susuitaviye ti / iyaṁ ca apacāyitaviye ti / se ācāriyasa apacāyiva(ta)viye ca susuitaviye (ca /°) ye pi ca ācariyasa nātikā / tasu pi yathālahaṁ pavatitaviye ti (/°) hemeva ca pativāsisu pi yathālahaṁ pavatitaviye / yādisi porānā pakiti (/°) yathā iyaṁ hi sa(sā)tireke huveya tathā pavativa(ta)viye ti (/°) hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsini ti (/°)

INDEX

[Appendix III has not been indexed]

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 4, line 34. " 5, lines 5, etc.	*Read*—Chitaldrug (Chitradurga)
" 5, line 19.	*Read*—Er̲r̲aguḍi
" 5, line 34.	*Read*—Minor Rock Edict
" 5, line 37.	Read—*mahāptā*
" 5 (also p. 7).	*Add note*—The consonants *r*, etc., have been elsewhere written as *ra*, etc.
" 6, line 30.	*Read*—Girnār
" 7, note 2, line 1.	*Read*—triskele symbol
" 10, line 10. " 11, line 9.	Read—*hemeva* (*pavatitaviyā**)
" 12, note 32.	*Add*—p. 71.
" 12, note 33.	*Add*—pp. 70-71.
" 13, line 2.	*Read*—(XIV) Whatever honour is to be shown to the teacher should be established in this way.
" 20, line 28.	*Omit*—scribe.
" 21, line 7.	Read—*saṁthave*
" 21, line 8.	Read—*tasi*
" 21, lines 8-9.	Read—*sa*[*m*]*mā-paṭipati*
" 23, lines 12-13.	Read—*Laṭhika*(4)*tinikanaṁ*
" 23, line 27.	*Read*—[he who]
" 25, line 16.	*Read*—[diverse passions]
" 25, line 29. " 26, line 19.	Read—*dasayi*[*ptā*]
" 26, line 17.	Read—*baṁbha*[*nānaṁ*]
" 26, line 24.	Read—(IV) [*e*]*sa*
" 27, line 36.	Read—*Devānaṁpiyā*
" 27, note.	*Add*—p. 67.
" 28, line 9.	Read—*abhi*[*la*]*mani*
" 29, line 14.	Read—*mahaṭha-vahaṁ*
" 31, note 22.	*Read*—rubbed off.
" 33, line 6.	Read—*sata-sahasa-mite*
" 33, line 14.	Read—*mita-saṁ*(13)*thuta* .... *tata se*
" 33, line 19.	Read—*va aja*
" 33, line 21.	Read—[*anunijahapaya*](19)[*ti*] ...... *pi ca*
" 33, line 22.	Read—*haṁ*]*ne*(20)[*yu*]
" 33, line 23-24.	Read—*dhaṁma-vijaye*
" 33, line 24-25.	Read—*yo*(23)*jana-satesu.*
" 33, line 26.	Read—*niti*(*ci*)*yaṁ Co*[*ḍā*] *Paṁdiyā ā Ta*[*ṁ*]*bapaniye*

Page	33, line 27.	Read—*Yona-Kaṁbocesu*
"	33, line 30.	Read—*savathi(thā) pana*
"	34, line 1.	Read—*palatikaṁmeva*
"	34, line 4.	Read—*nilati*
"	35, note 45.	*Read*—Girnār
"	37, line 1.	Read—*lājā*
"	37, lines 6 & 7.	Read—*pi ca*
"	37, line 17.	Read—*Priyadarśin*
"	38, note 4.	*Read*—letter *cu*
"	39, line 8.	Read—*taṁ*][15]
"	39, line 10.	Read—*maṁga[le]*
"	39, line 21.	Read—*baṁbha]na[naṁ .... [he]dise*
"	40, line 2.	Read—*ni[vu]tiyā nivu[ta]si vā*
"	40, line 3.	Read—*nivatayethā*
"	40, line 5.	Read—*[pa]savati.*
"	40, line 7.	Read—*tena [dhaṁma]-maṁgalena*
"	43, line 4.	*Read*—instead of
"	44, line 5.	Read—*cu kho*
"	44, line 16.	Read—*guru[no]*
"	44, note 12, line 1.	*Read*—Erragudi
"	47, lines 18 & 19.	*Read*—disparage
"	48, line 11.	*Read*—particular
"	49, lines 18-19.	*Read*—there were concerned with the interest of their king
"	50, note 5, line 4.	*Read*—Sircar, *The Successors .... in the Lower Deccan*, 1939.
"	52, lines 32 & 34.	*Read*—Kopbal or Koppal
"	53, line 11.	*Read*—Chitaldrug (Chitradurga)
"	53, line 16.	*Read*—Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and others were
"	53, line 18.	*Read*—Pālkīguṇḍu
"	53, note 12, line 1.	*Read*—VII, 1931.
"	54, line 15.	*Read*—Cf. Raychaudhuri, *Political*
"	57, line 23.	Read—*tṛtya*
"	58, lines 27-28.	Omit—*sa* = *ssa ṣy* in *vaḍhisiti* **vardhiṣyati* ;
"	59, line 6.	Read—*varṣa*
"	60, note 3, line 2.	Read—*sāsane* (/*)
"	60, note 3.	*Add*—For Senart's views, see *Journ. As.*, 1916, pp. 425-42.
"	60, note 7, line 7.	Read—*Śake=Sake*
"	61, note 8, line 2.	Read—*iyaṁ ca*
"	62, note 4, line 2.	Read—*viṣayaṁ*
"	62, note 5.	Read—*dvyardhyaṁ*
"	63, line 22.	*Read*—sense
"	68, line 7.	*Read*—Aśoka
"	68, note, line 2.	*Read*—Paris

Page	69, line 14.	*Add note*—For the views of Thomas, see *Journ. As.*, 1910, pp. 507-22 ; *JRAS*, 1916, pp. 113-23, 477-81 ; and for Lévi, see *Journ. As.*, 1911, pp. 119-26.
„	69, line 27.	*Read*— — why ? —
„	69, line 29.	Read—*paricajiptā*
„	70, line 22.	*Read*—Chitradurga, Karnul and other
„	70, line 31.	Read—*ta*(*ti*)
„	70, line 37.	*Read*—Aśoka .
„	71, note 5.	*Add*—Cf. p. 8.
„	72, line 11.	*Read*—Ancient History and Archaeology
„	74, line 39.	*Read*—The use of
„	75, line 6.	*Read*—or *ca* ?
„	75, line 16.	*Read*—so that
„	75, line 36.	Read—*Devānaṁpiya*
„	76, line 2.	*Read*—Chitaldrug
„	76, line 24.	*Read*—guḍi, Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and other
„	78, note 4.	*Add*—Cf. above, p. 71.
„	79, line 32.	*Read*—the text
„	80, line 16.	*Read*—a little over 50 miles from Madras
„	81, line 1.	Read—[*tvana*]
„	81, line 11.	Read—[*aḍha*(3)*tiyāni*
„	81, note 2, line 2.	*Read*—above, pp. 64-65.
„	82, note 1.	*Add*—(p. 96.)
„	83, line 24.	Read—*Devā-*
„	83, line 31.	*Read*—inscription
„	85, note 2.	*Add*—pp. 64-65, 81.
„	85, note 3.	*Add*—pp. 67-68.
„	86, line 33.	*Read*—examination
„	89, note 3.	*Add*—pp. 67, 71.
„	91, line 25.	Read—*dve-*
„	91, line 34.	Read—*tī*
„	92, line 7 } 92, line 13 }	Read—*dha*[*ṁ*]*maṁ*
„	92, line 15.	Read—*jānaṁtu*
„	92, line 16.	Read—*ca*[*raṁ*]
„	93, line 8.	*Read*—also know
„	94, line 6.	*Read*—then Director
„	94, line 7.	*Read*—P. R. Srinivasan, then Chief
„	96, line 35.	Read—*mahaptena*
„	97, line 15.	*Read*—Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and *āha* for *ānapayati* at Śiddāpura
„	97, line 16.	Read—*ārogiyaṁ*
„	97, line 27.	*Read*—king after the
„	97, last line.	Read—*rājā kumārasa*

Page 101, line 5. Read—*ha(hi)dha*
„ 101, line 6. Read—*(si)lā-ṭhabhe*
„ 101, line 17. *Read*—named Saṁva
„ 102, line 7. Read—*pakama* ......[3]
„ 103, line 4. *Delete brackets.*
„ 104, line 21. *Read*—born in 1754
„ 105, line 36. *Read*—part of *ta*
„ 106, line 23. Read—*Devānaṁpiye*
„ 107, line 35. Read—*dvyardhyam*
„ 109, line 22. Read—*hemeva (pavatitaviyā*) ...... evam eva (pravartitavyā*)*
„ 109, lines 22-23. *Read*—"Whatever honour is due to the teacher [should be established] in this way."
„ 110, line 19. Read—*sāv[ite]*
„ 110, note 6, line 1. *Read*—15 *akṣaras*
„ 111, note 8. *Read*—there are
„ 111, note 12. Read—*yārisā poranā*
„ 111, note 14, line 1. Read—*hemeva (pavatitaviyā*)*
„ 112, line 1. *Read*—XVII
„ 112, line 12. Read—*sā[vāpi]te [vyū]thena*
„ 112, line 16. Read—*rpā(prā)nesu*
„ 112, line 20. Read—*sususita*][vi]ye .... [apa]cāya[nā .... aca](13)riya[sa*] (pavatitaviyā*) (/*) .... [vā pa]na*
„ 112, line 21. Read—*[nā]ti[kasu .... [ate](14)[vāsisu*]*
„ 113, line 2. *Read*—was discovered
„ 114, line 33. Read—*baḍhaṁ vaḍhiśaṁti*
„ 115, line 34. Read—*mata-pitusu*
„ 116, note 2. *Add*—pp. 70-71, 74-75, etc.
„ 119, line 18. *Read*—miles away
„ 119, note 1, lines 4-5. *Read*—Mathia (Lauriya Nandangarh)
„ 121, line 6. Read—*api ca tatra*
„ 121, line 33. *Read*—a little over 50 miles from Madras
„ 121, note 3, line 1. *Read*—Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*
„ 121, note 3, line 2. *Read*—respectively to the east and west
„ 124, lines 10 & 11. *Omit*—inches
„ 126, note 4, line 1. *Read*—of the line
„ 128, line 1. Read—*ye ca ācali ...*
„ 128, note 4, line 3. Read—*hemeva (pavatitaviyā*)*
„ 131, line 4. Read—*[ta]²ta*
„ 131, line 5. Read—*yug-ā[ca][riyāni*
„ 131, line 10. Read—*sa(sā)tireke*
„ 133, line 6. Read—*aḍhātiyāni*
„ 133, line 13. Read—*rpa(pra)kāsa*

Page 135, line 14.	Read—*vipule svage sakye*
„ 135, line 20.	Read—*saṁyatenā*
„ 136, line 1.	Read—*n=eva*
„ 136, line 3.	Read—*mahapten=eva*
„ 136, line 5.	Read—*etāye aṭhāye*
„ 136, line 27.	Read—*aṭhāya esa*

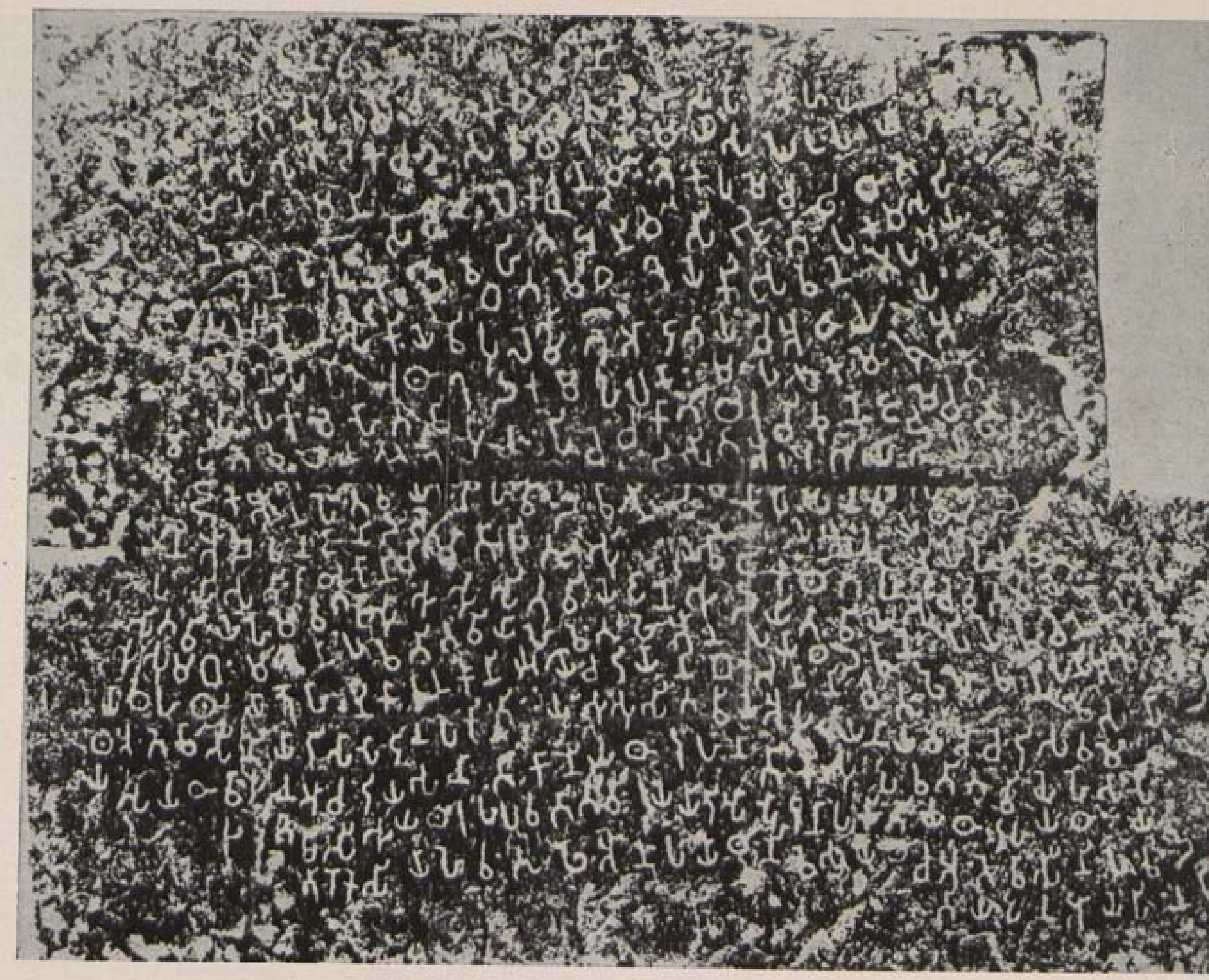
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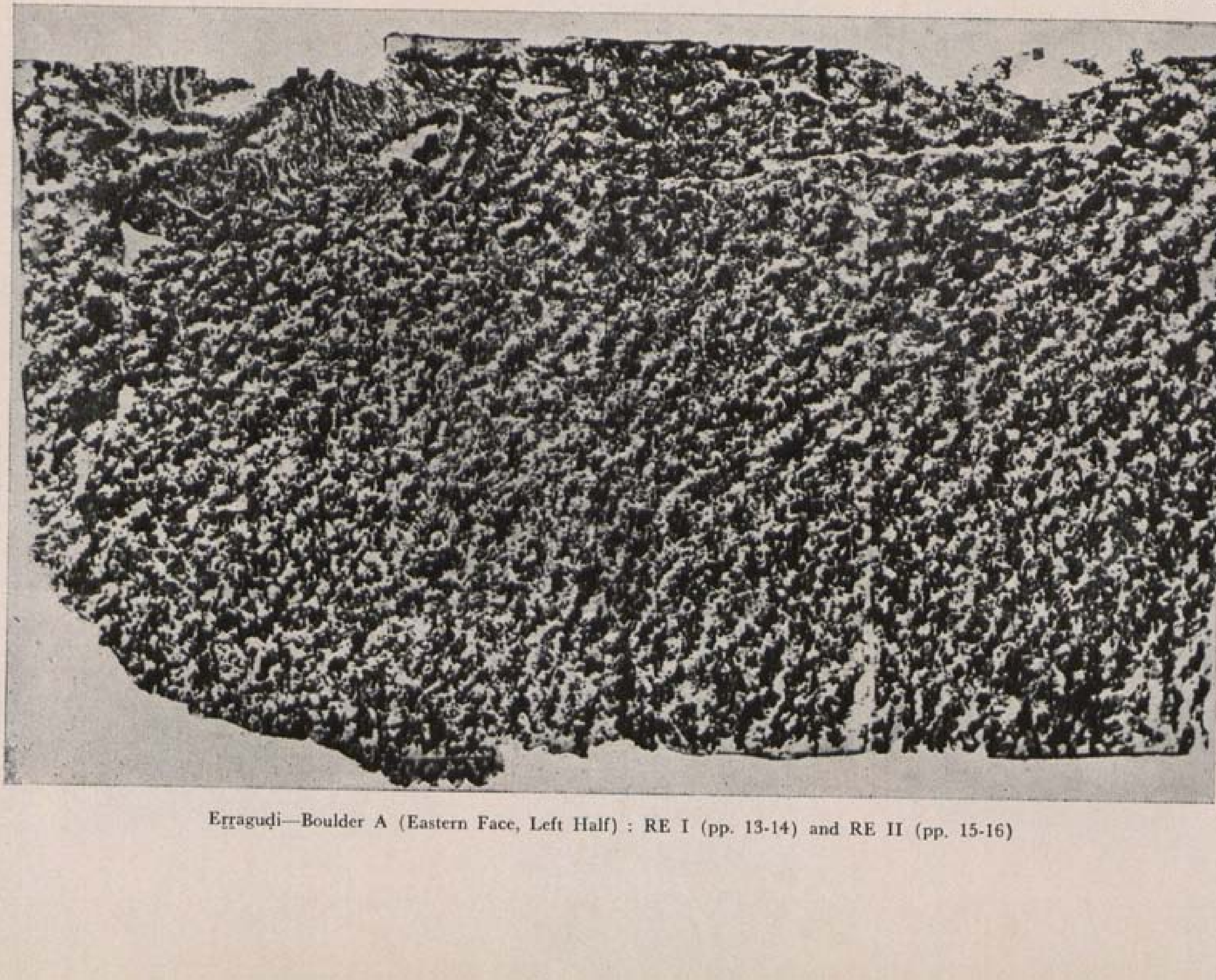


Eṟṟaguḍi—Inscribed Boulders A, A-1, B, C, D, E and F (pp. 3-4)

PLATE II

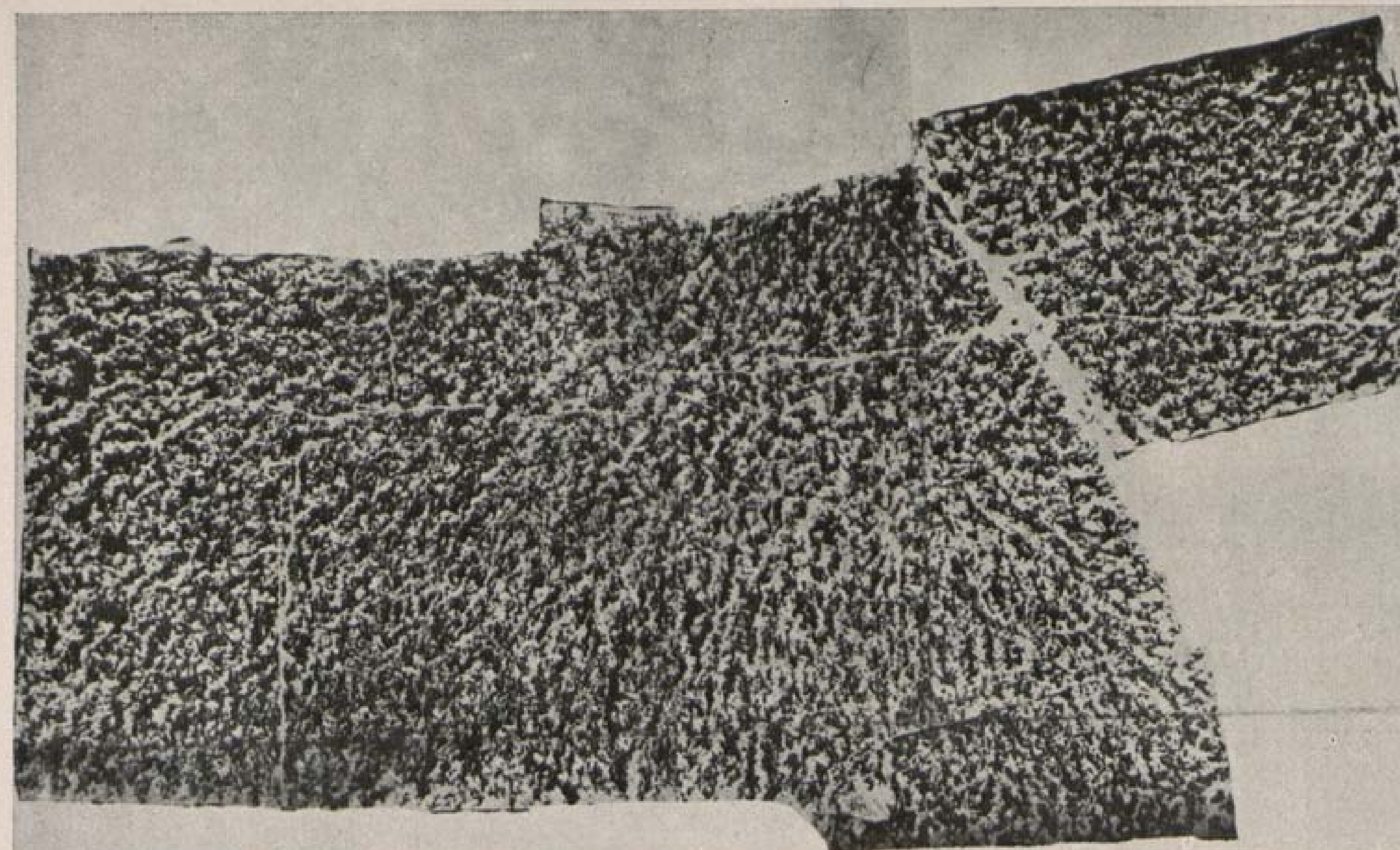


Eṟṟaguḍi—Boulder F : MRE I (pp. 7-9) and MRE II (pp. 9-11)



E̱ṟṟaguḍi—Boulder A (Eastern Face, Left Half) : RE I (pp. 13-14) and RE II (pp. 15-16)

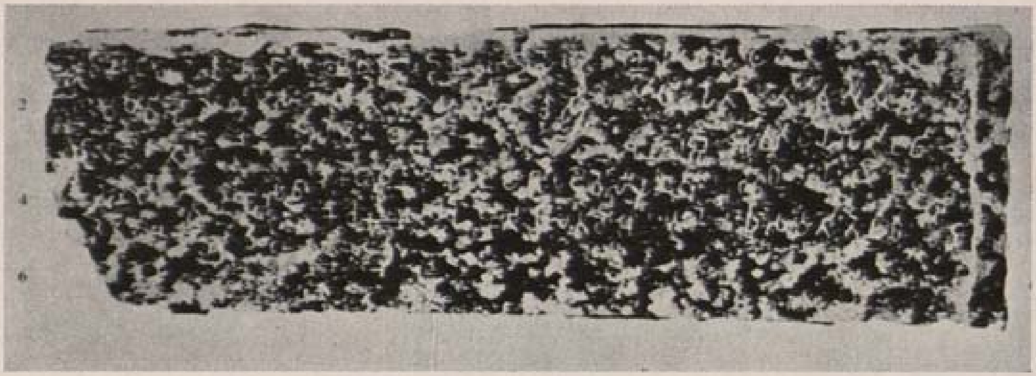
PLATE IV



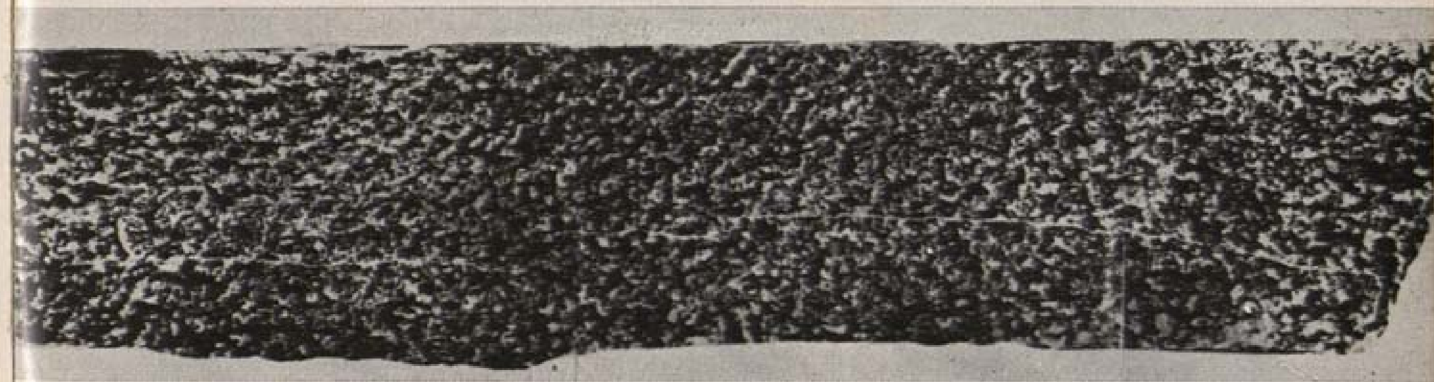
Erraguḍi—Boulder A-1 (Eastern Face, Right Half) : RE III (pp. 16-17), RE VI (pp. 17-18) and RE XIV (pp. 19-20)

R.E. XI

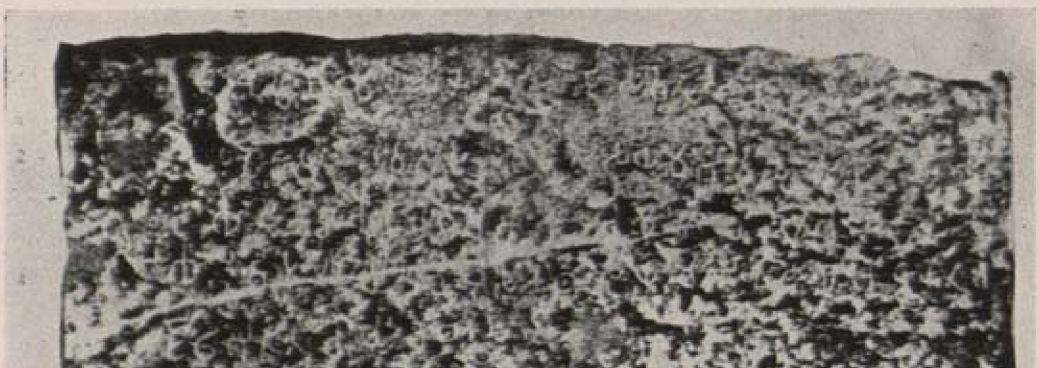
PLATE V



R.E. V

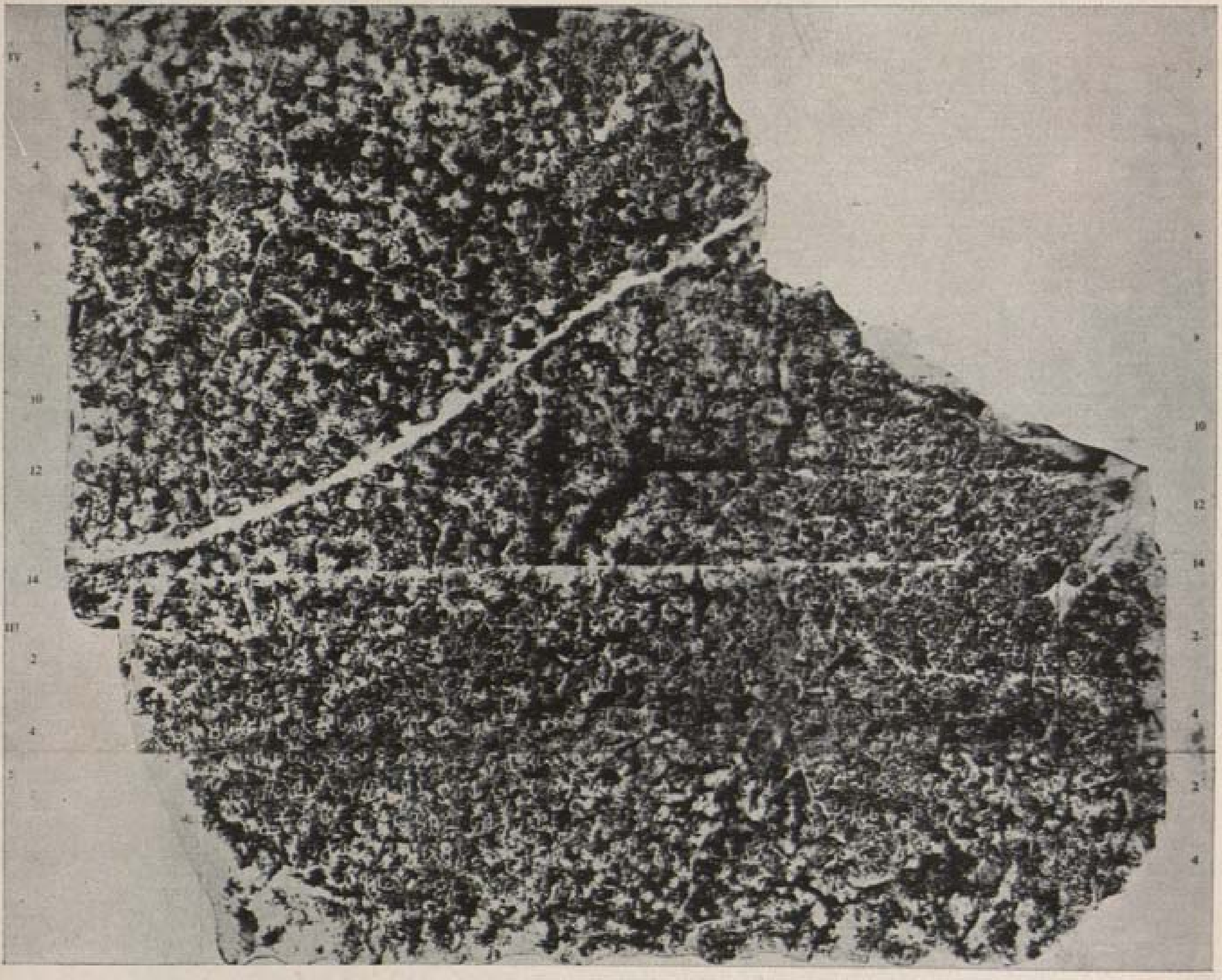


R.E. VII

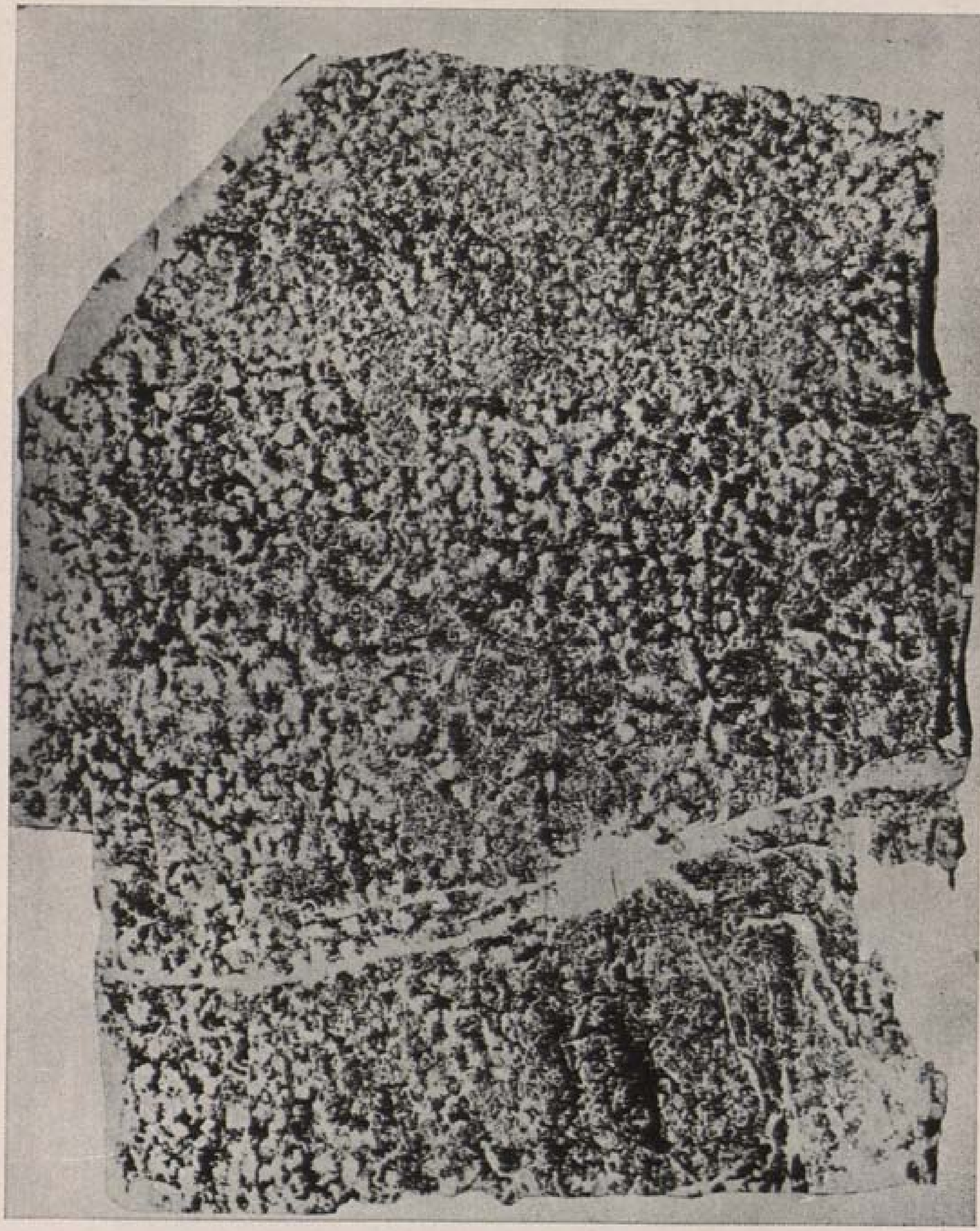


Eṟṟaguḍi—Boulder A-1 (Northern Face of Boulder A), RE XI at the Left End (p. 21), RE V in the Middle (pp. 22-23) and RE VII at the Upper Right Corner (24-25)

PLATE VI

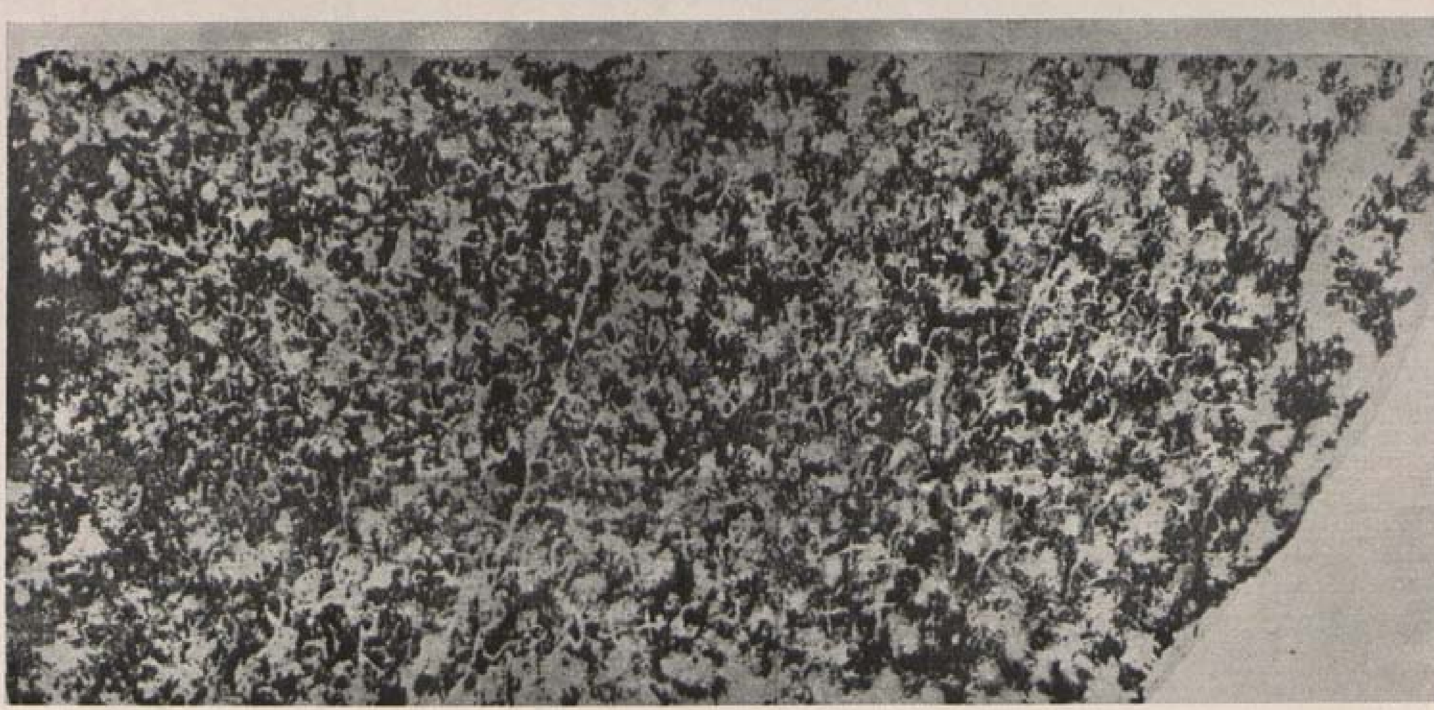


Eṟṟaguḍi—Boulder B, Right Half : RE IV (pp. 25-27), RE VIII (pp. 27-28) and RE X (pp. 29-30)

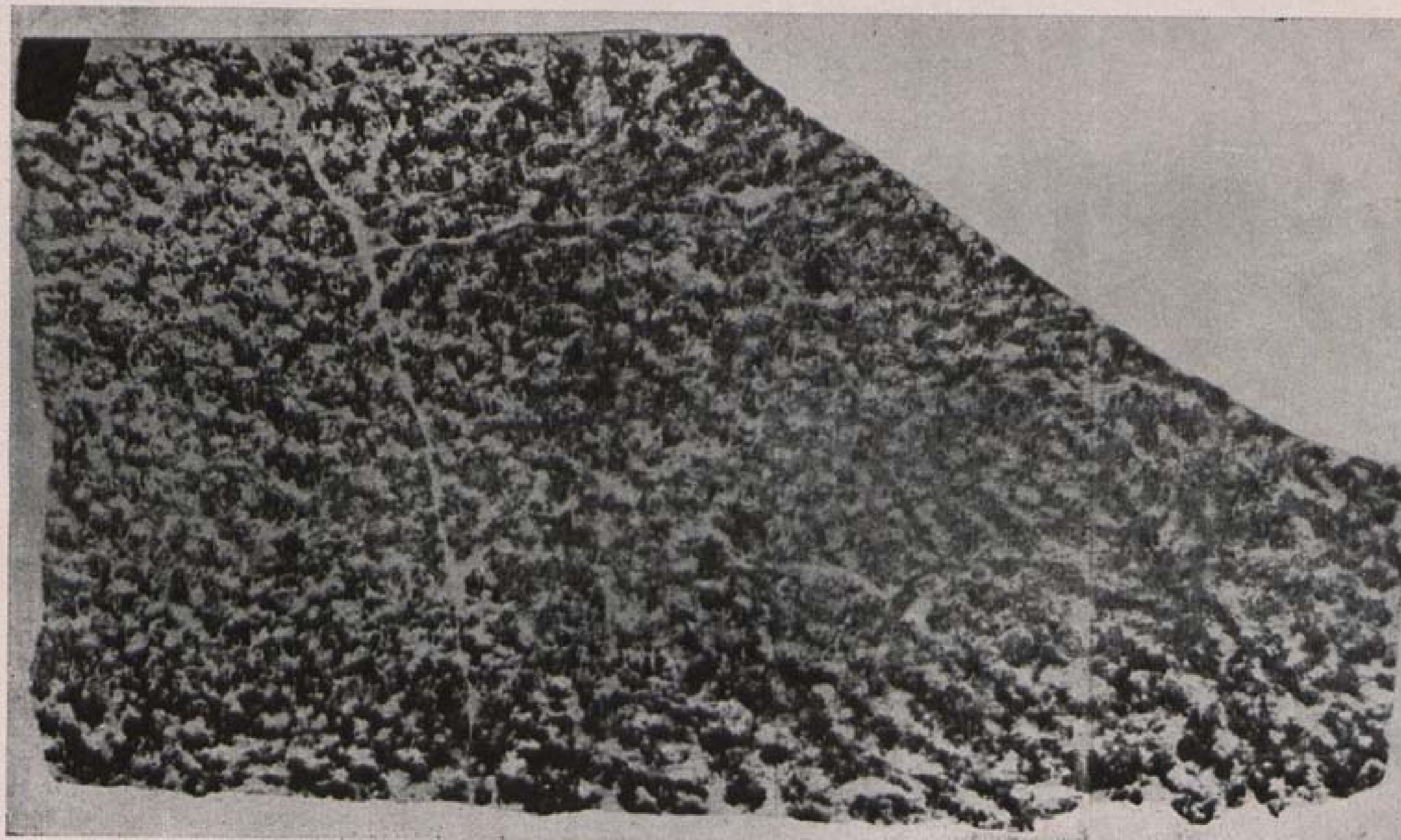


Eṛṛaguḍi—Boulder B-1 (Upper Half of Boulder B) : RE XIII Lines 1-29 (pp. 30-32 and 33)

PLATE VIII

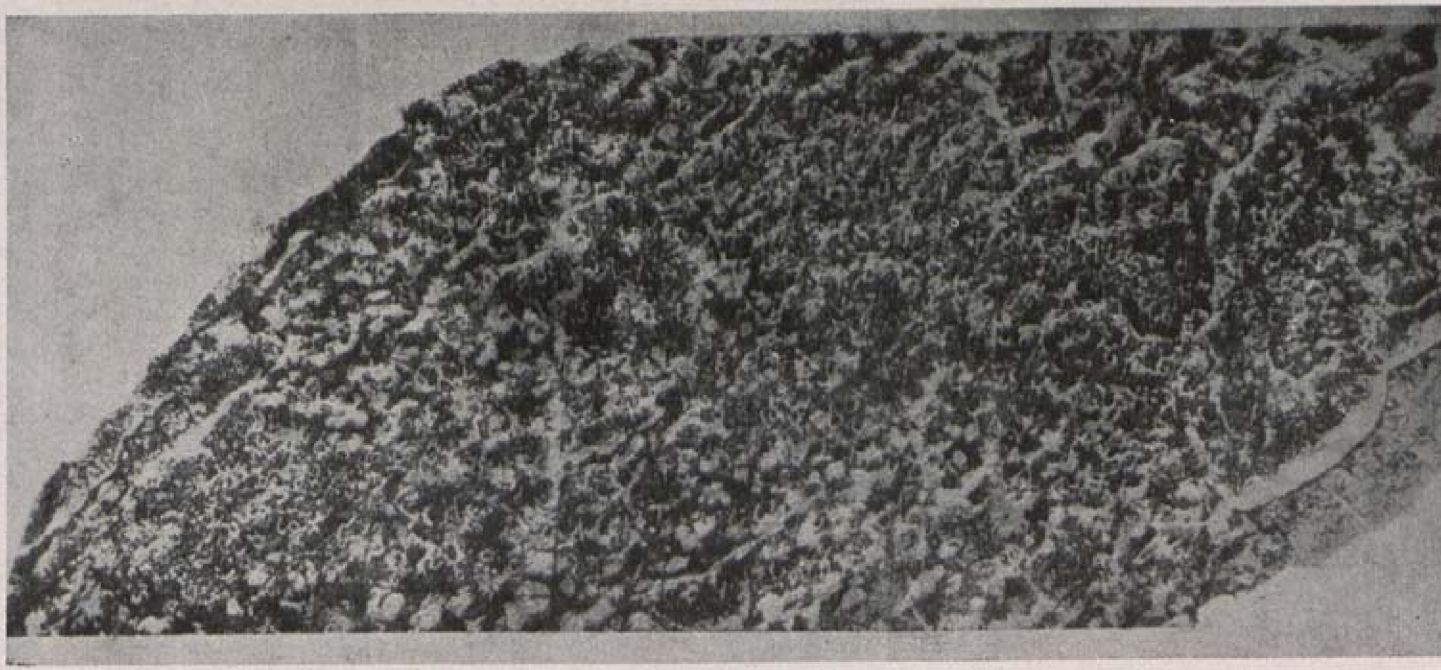


Eṛṛaguḍi—Boulder C : RE XIII, Lines 30-36 (pp. 32-33 and 33-34)

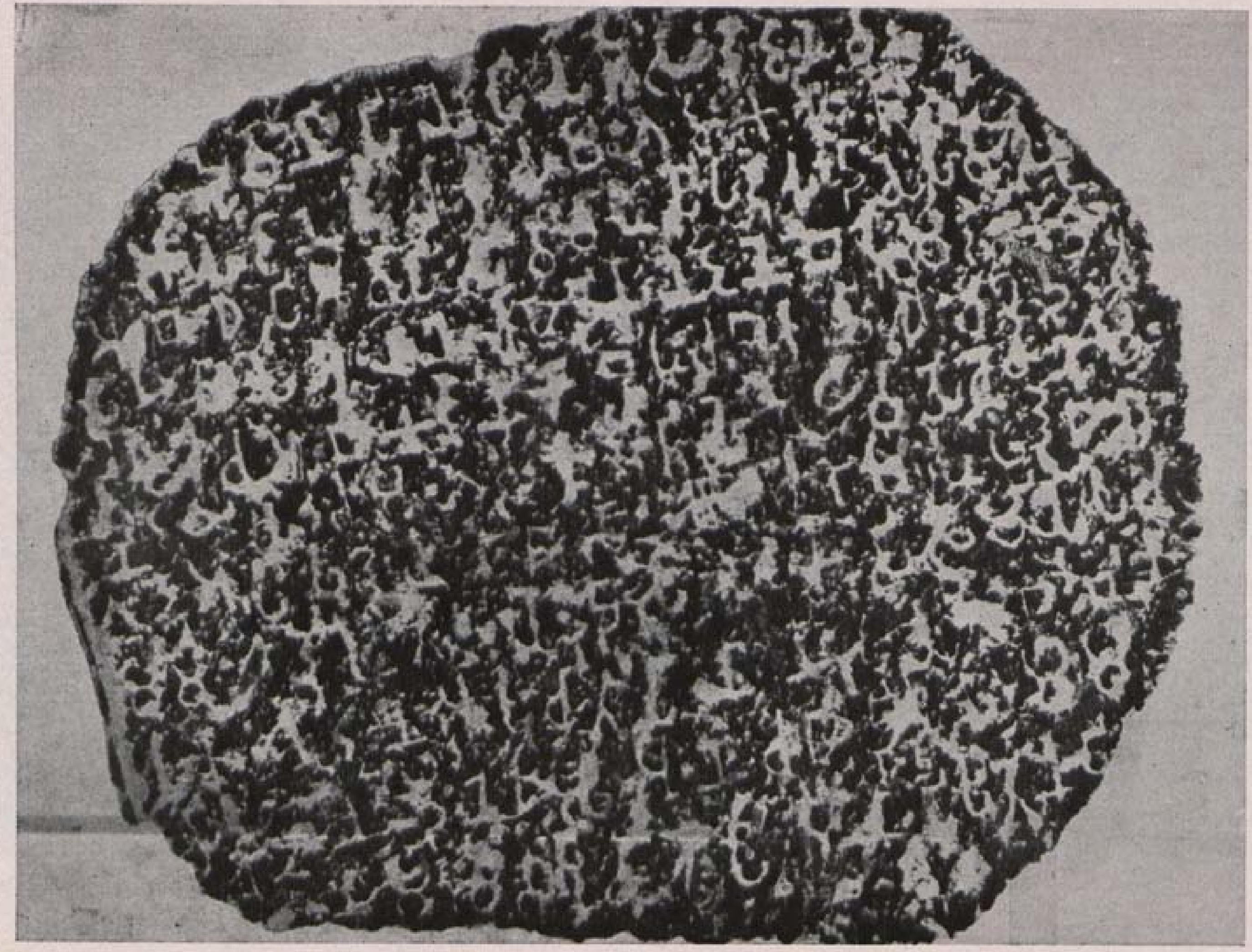


Eṟṟaguḍi—Boulder D : RE XII (pp. 36-37)

PLATE X

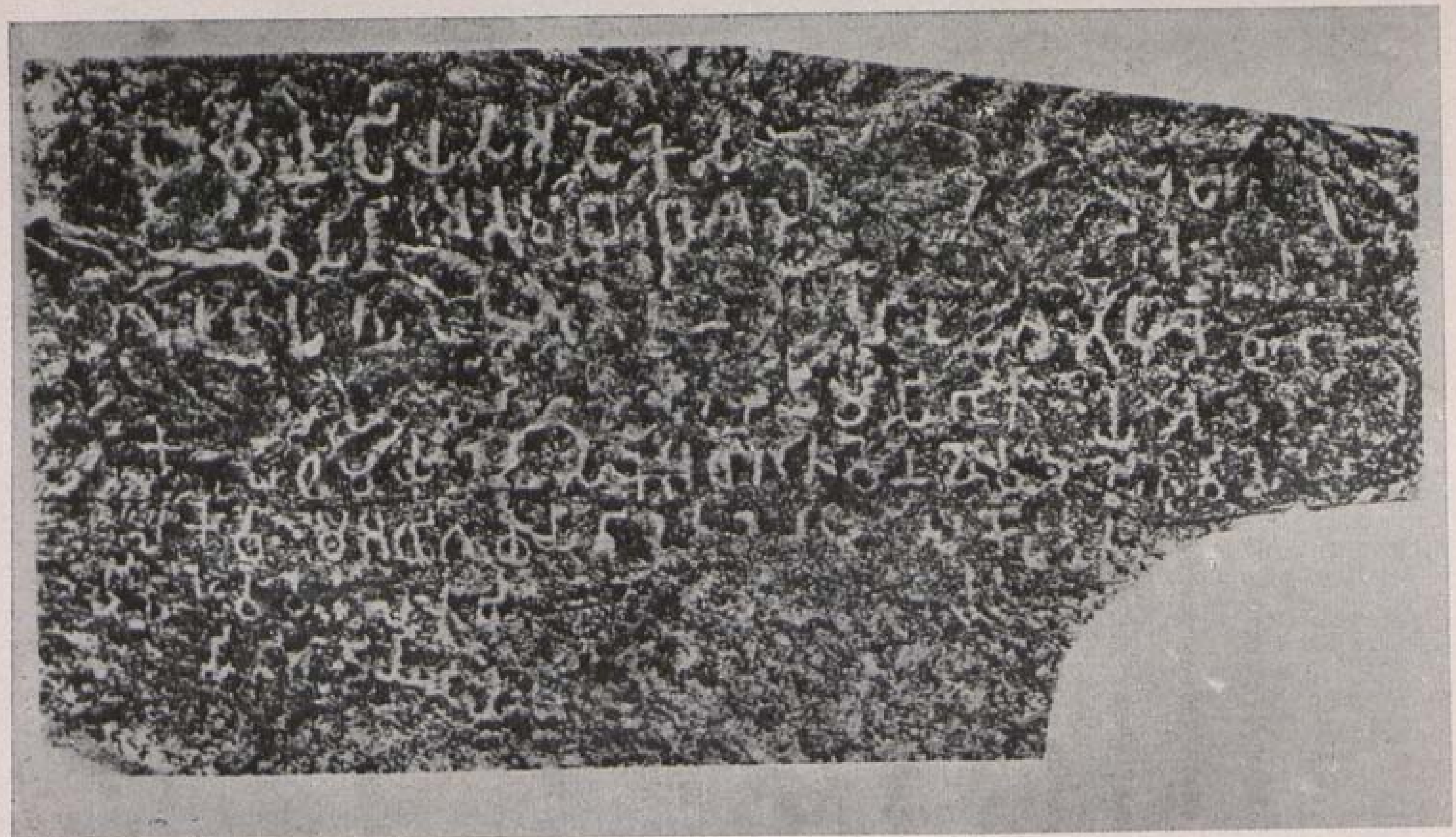


Eṛṛaguḍi—Boulder E : RE IX (pp. 38-40)

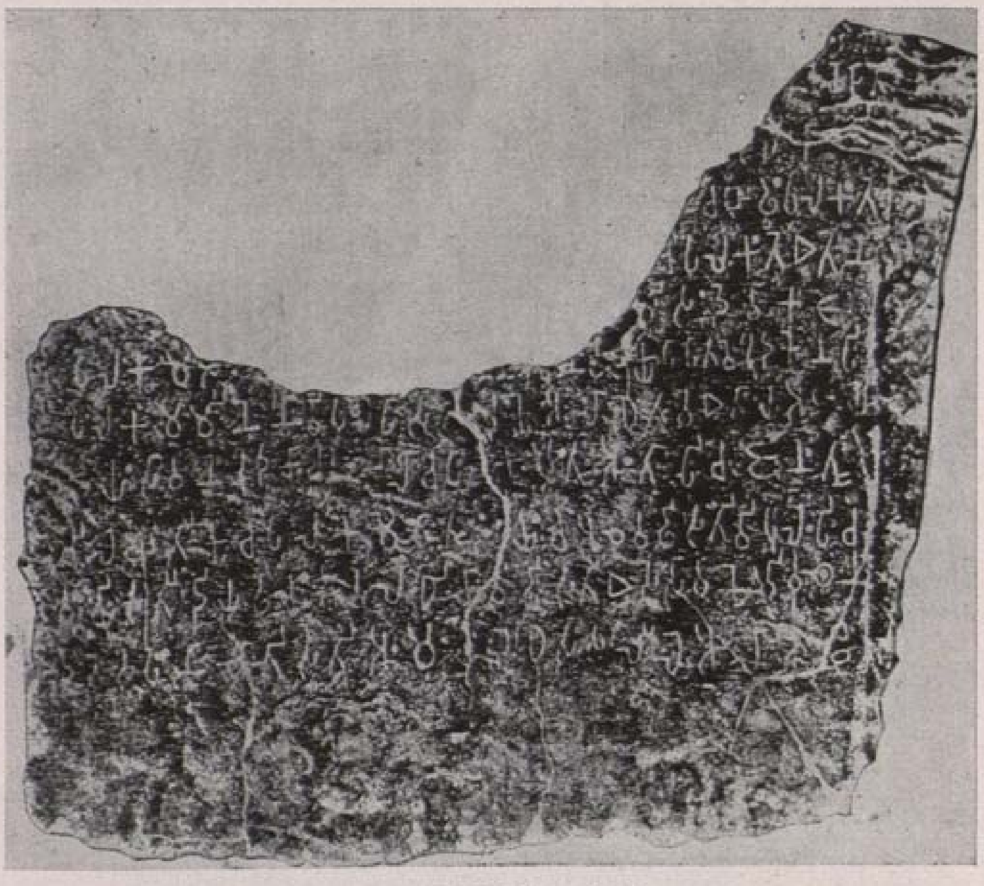


Sopārā—RE IX, First Half (pp. 43-44)

PLATE XII



Maski—MRE I (pp. 60-61)

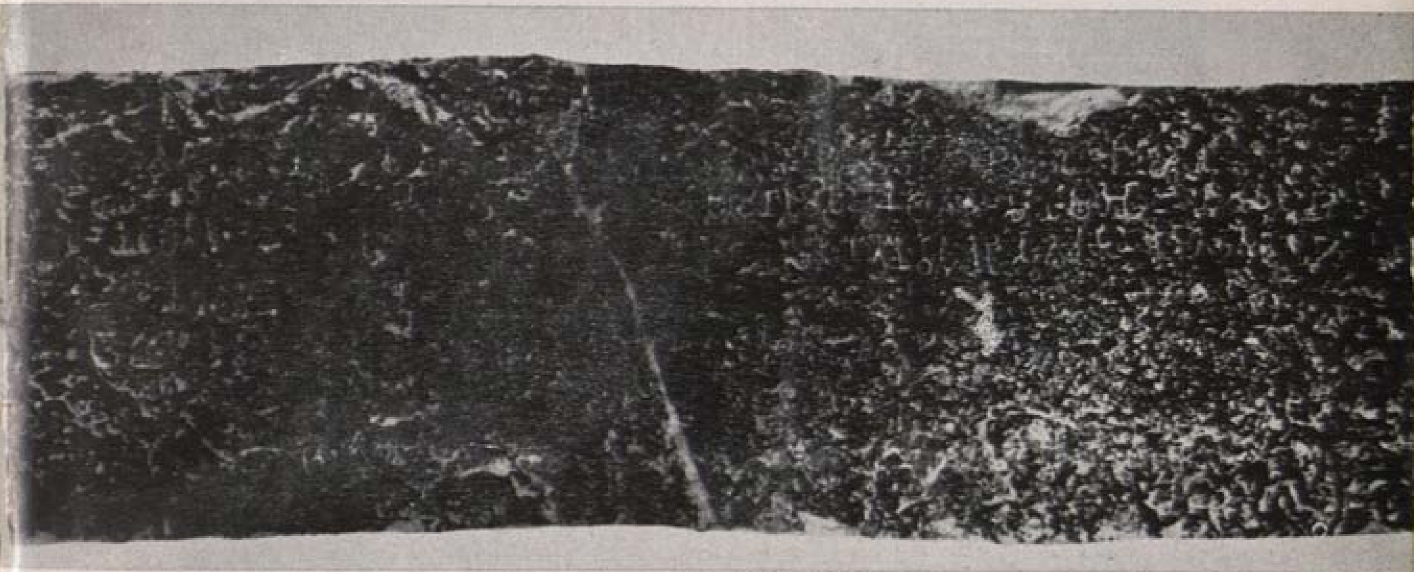


Ahraurā—MRE I (pp. 80-81)

PLATE XIV



Delhi (Bahāpur)—MRE I (pp. 84-85)

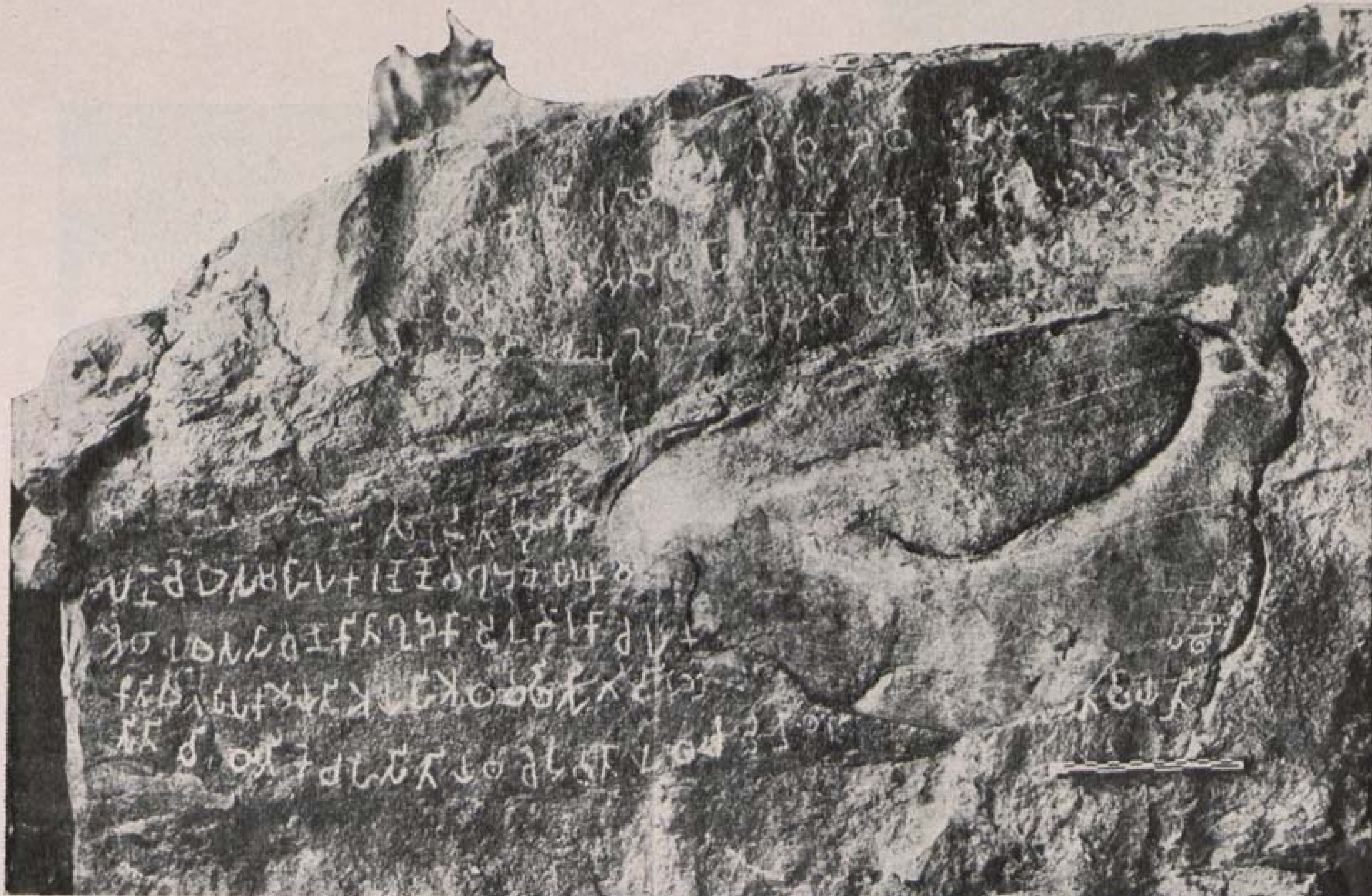


Gujarrā—MRE I (pp. 91-92)

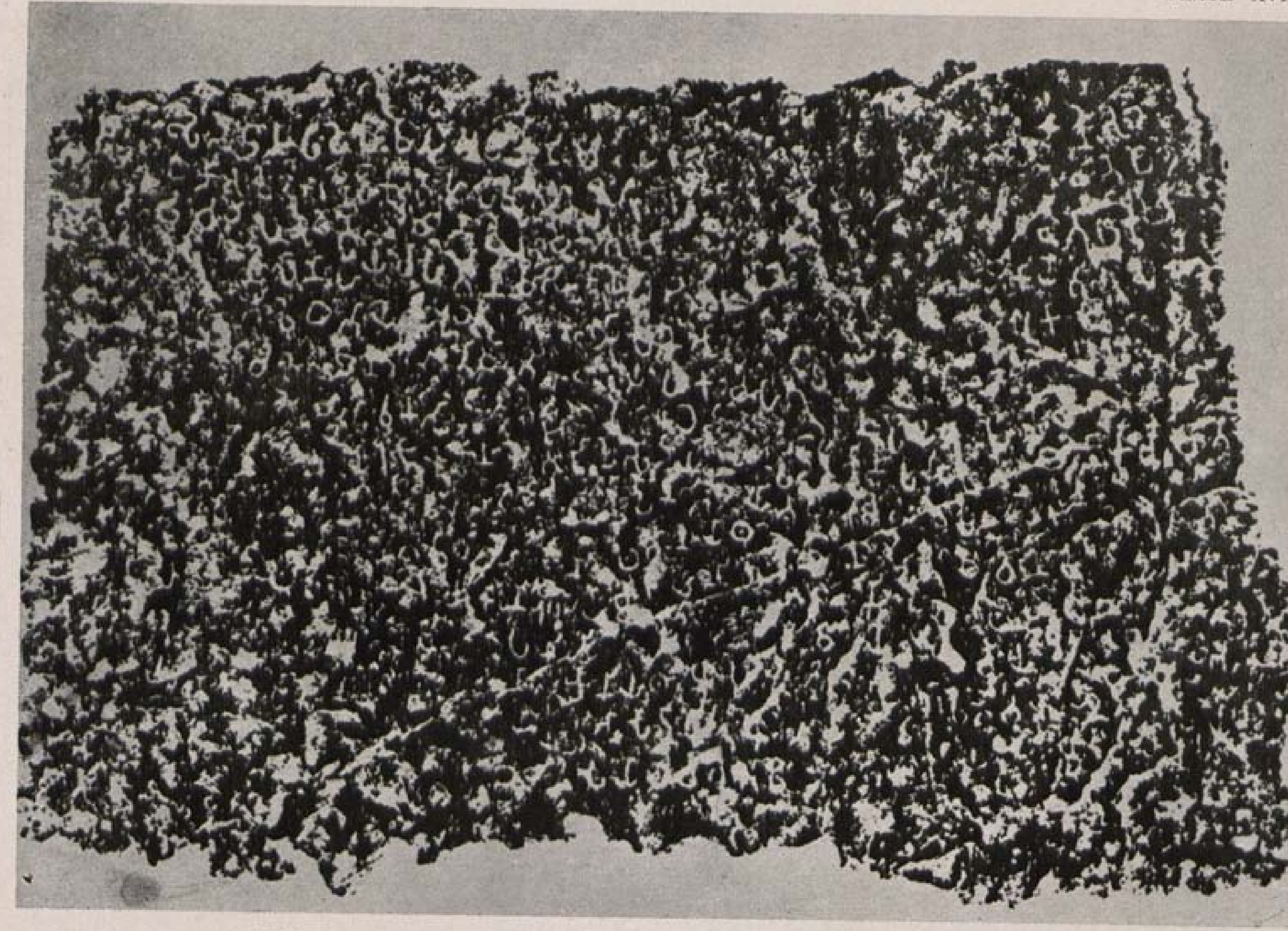
PLATE XVI



Pāngurāriā (Pānguḍāriyāṃ)—MRE I, Introductory Part (pp. 101 and 102)



Pāngurāriā (Pānguḍāriyāṃ)—MRE I (Sections I and II, pp. 101 and 102)

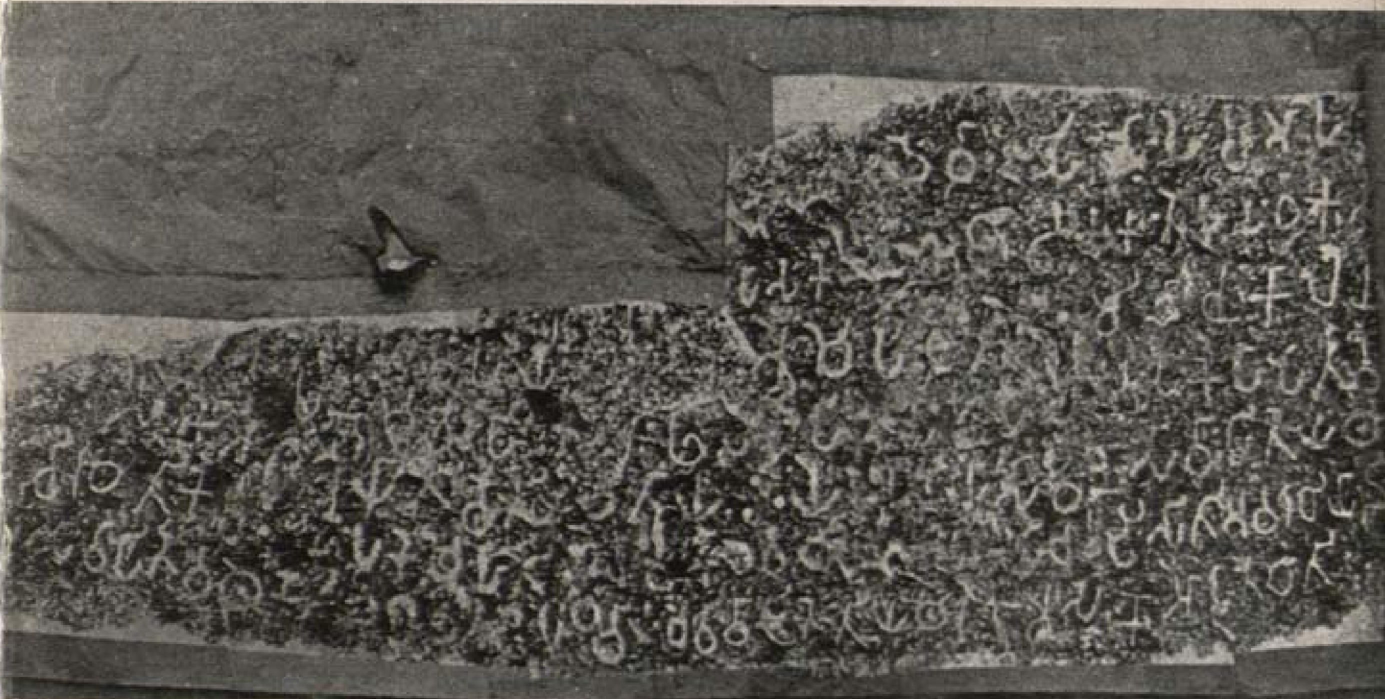


Rājula-Mandagiri—MRE I (pp. 110-11 and 112) and MRE II (pp. 111-12 and 112)



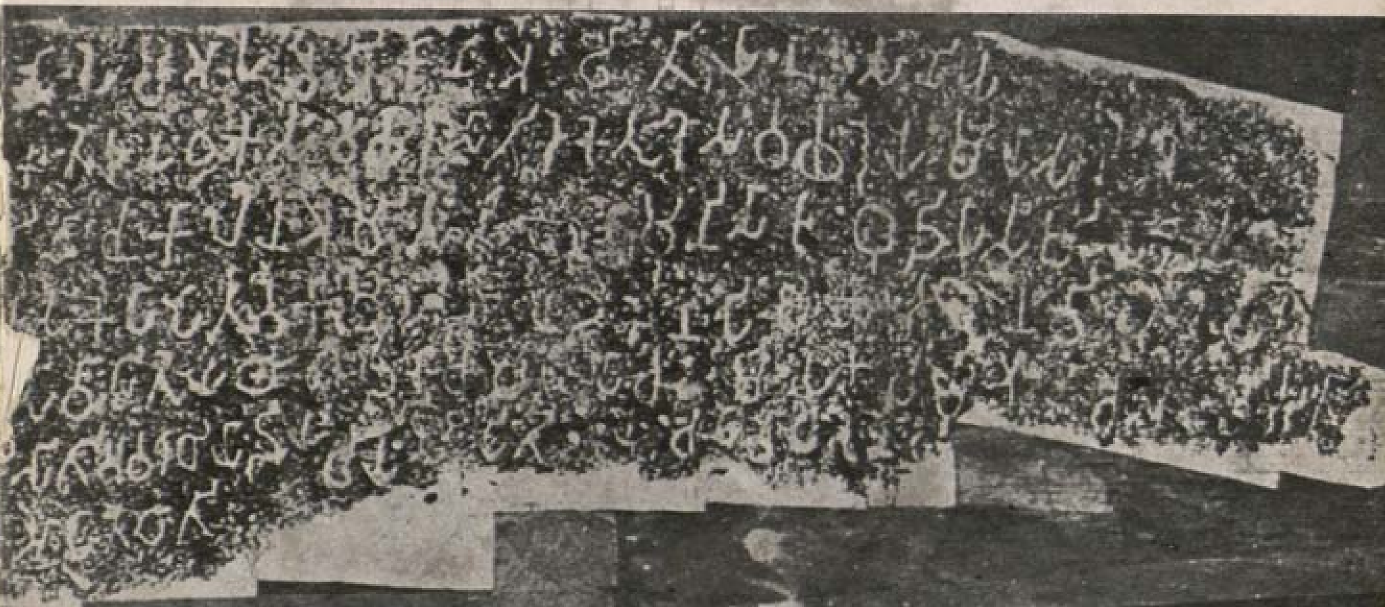
Amarāvatī—PE (Fragment, p. 122)

PLATE XX



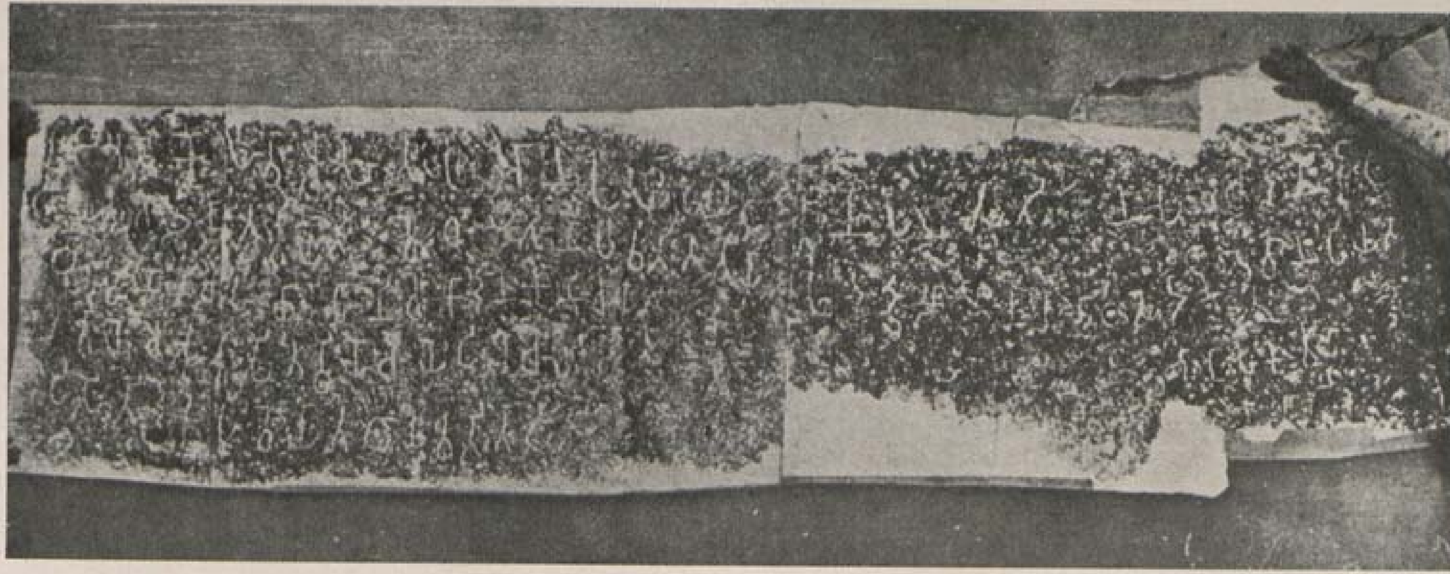
Niṭṭūr—MRE I, Left Half (pp. 125-126)

PLATE XXI



Niṭṭūr—MRE I, Right Half (pp. 125-26)

PLATE XXII



Niṭṭūr—MRE II, Left Half (pp. 127-28)

PLATE XXIII



Niṭṭūr—MRE II, Right Half (pp. 127-28)



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